

TIME BLACK LIVES MATTER.



THIS
TIME THE
CHARGE IS
MURDER

BY DAVID
VON DREHLE



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Still image from video taken April 4 in North Charleston, S.C., showing police officer Michael Slager shooting Walter Scott as he runs away. Photograph via Reuters



A 20-year-old Syrian fighter in YPJ, a Kurdish women's militia. "Women of YPJ are not scared of ISIS," she says. Photograph by Newsha Tavakolian for TIME

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Producer and author Brian Grazer



Fashion model Carmen Dell'Orefice, page 50

Conversation

What You Said About ...



AMERICA'S FREEDOM FIGHT Our cover package on the battle between religious-freedom bills and civil rights for gay people prompted sharp responses. Richard Metz of Fort Myers, Fla., criticized "bullying tactics" from gay-rights activists, saying that religious liberty is a constitutional protection while anti-discrimination laws are not. But the vast majority of religious readers voiced frustration with the Indiana bill and others like it, even taking offense at TIME's calling their supporters "believers." **"To me a 'believer' is someone who has faith in a loving God, a God who I believe would be as disgusted as I am with what is being done in His name,"** wrote Nicole Mohr of Simi Valley, Calif., adding that many churches are standing up for LGBT rights. Wrote Barb Miller, an evangelical Christian from Reedsville, Pa., "the business of Christians is to spread the gospel, not worry about other people's life choices ... If I were going to refuse services to those whose behavior I don't condone, I would be refusing to serve those who cheat on their partners or don't pay enough attention to their children."

JOE KLEIN ON AN IRAN DEAL "Mr. Klein is the only major national columnist who has correctly identified Iran's rights to peaceful nuclear development under the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty as the crucial reason why their nuclear program cannot be totally dismantled," wrote William Beeman, professor and chair of anthropology at the University of Minnesota. But on TIME.com, doctor.j wrote that **"a bad diplomatic 'solution' is not our only option,"** citing other paths such as "more comprehensive international sanctions and economic isolation" and "surgical military strikes against Iranian nuclear facilities."

A PAPAL CHALICE Our story on a chalice being crafted for Pope Francis' September visit to the U.S. didn't sit well with some readers. Jerry Mobley of St. Cloud, Fla., called the cup a "misguided symbol of reverence draped in opulence" that should be created only after "every child throughout the world is well fed, kept safe from harm and provided with needed medicine and clean water."

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Send a letter: **TIME Magazine Letters, Time & Life Building, New York, NY 10020**. Letters should include the writer's full name, address and home telephone and may be edited for purposes of clarity and space



LIGHTBOX "Mountains are steeped in mythology," says English photographer Charles Emerson, whose work features peaks from all over the world (like Romania's Jepii Mici, above) presented using multiple exposures, to give the images a dreamlike quality. See more on lightbox.time.com.

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"Hello from Space." That's the subject line of an email TIME got April 3 from astronaut Scott Kelly (above, top, aboard the International Space Station), whose yearlong mission got off to a smooth start. "Ride up hill was awesome," wrote Kelly. "Settling in very nicely here. It's almost like I never left." NASA will study him and his twin brother back on Earth to look for effects of space on the body. For TIME's ongoing coverage, visit time.com/space.

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V O L V O



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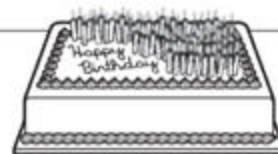


airbnb
Belong Anywhere

Briefing

‘Iran understands that they cannot fight us.’

PRESIDENT OBAMA, emphasizing the U.S.’s military edge while defending the framework for a deal with Iran to allow the country to maintain part of its nuclear infrastructure but impede its bomb-building capability; the preliminary deal was met with skepticism in Congress and in Israel, but Obama called it “our best bet by far” to stop Iran from getting a nuclear weapon



115

Age of the oldest living person in the world as of April 7. Jeralean Talley of Michigan took the title after a 116-year-old American woman died. “I feel good,” Talley said

‘WE’VE COME TO TAKE OUR COUNTRY BACK FROM THE SPECIAL INTERESTS.’

RAND PAUL, Republican Senator from Kentucky, launching his 2016 campaign for President



\$1,300
Amount of money a Georgia waitress returned to customers who accidentally left the sum behind in an envelope

‘When you’re wrong, you’re wrong.’

KEITH SUMMEY, mayor of North Charleston, S.C., on the decision to charge a white cop with the murder of an apparently unarmed black man after video showed the officer firing multiple times from behind as the man fled. “When you make a bad decision,” Summey said, “don’t care if you’re behind the shield... you have to live with that decision”

Lucille Ball

A statue of the late actress criticized as “scary” will be replaced for free by the sculptor



GOOD WEEK

BAD WEEK



Edward Snowden

An unauthorized statue of the NSA leaker was removed from a New York City park

‘Sometimes I’m more fit. And then sometimes ... I’d rather have wine!’



KELLY CLARKSON, singer, dismissing critics of her weight by saying, “We are who we are, whatever size”

‘Trevor Noah will earn your trust and respect, or not. Just as I earned your respect, or did not.’



JON STEWART, host of *The Daily Show*, defending his successor after news of his selection was quickly followed by criticism of some of the jokes he had made on Twitter



Briefing

LightBox

Dry Spell

With desert town Rancho Mirage and the rest of California struggling through a fourth year of drought, Governor Jerry Brown on April 1 ordered the state's first mandatory reduction in nonagricultural water use, cautioning residents, "The idea of your nice little green lawn getting watered every day, those days are past."

Photograph by Damon Winter—
The New York Times/Redux

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World

A Failing Middle East

By Ian Bremmer

If a government can't guarantee security in large areas within its borders, can't control the flow of people across those borders and can't meet the basic needs of large numbers of its citizens, it's a failing state. And right now the Middle East is full of them:

IRAQ More than 400,000 Iraqis have fled the country, and more than 3 million have been internally displaced. ISIS has lost some territory in recent weeks, but it still controls an area about the size of Switzerland.

The U.N. reported on April 1 that nearly 1,000 Iraqis were killed and an additional 2,172 injured in acts of violence and terrorism in March.

SYRIA Life expectancy in Syria has fallen from 75.9 years in 2010 to just 55.7. Unemployment has surged from 14.9% in 2011 to 57.7% in the fourth quarter of 2014. This year fewer than half of Syria's school-age children will attend school, as more than half the country's citizens have been forced from their homes.

LIBYA Libya has two governments, two army chiefs of staff and two central-bank governors. Violence is increasing, and oil output, a critical source of revenue for the

country's government(s), is running at less than a third of capacity. Understandably, citizens are not voting—the number of people who cast ballots fell from 1.8 million in 2012 to 630,000 in 2014—except with their feet: about 10,000 migrants flee the country for Europe each month.

YEMEN Life in the poorest nation in the Arab world keeps getting worse. Shi'ite Houthi rebels are chasing a Sunni-led government around the country as separatist groups vie for control in the south. Al-Qaeda-affiliated groups carry out attacks, the Saudis bomb the Houthis, U.S. drones circle overhead, and Egyptian warships shell from offshore. A 2007 survey found that there are 54.8 guns for every 100 Yemenis, making it the second most armed country per capita.

It's no wonder that Yemenis need a little pick-me-up. More than two-thirds of men and one-third of women chew khat leaves, a mild narcotic with effects ranging from calm to mild euphoria. Some 40% of Yemen's scarce water supply goes toward producing khat, which has no nutritional value. In a country where per capita income is less than \$7 per day, the average Yemeni spends one-quarter to one-third of his income on khat.

Foreign-affairs columnist Bremmer is the president of Eurasia Group, a political-risk consultancy



A woman supporting Yemen's former President Ali Abdullah Saleh

GERMANY

'It doesn't move us forward one millimeter on the question of stabilizing Greece.'

GERMAN ECONOMY MINISTER SIGMAR GABRIEL, after Greece said it was owed more than \$300 billion in reparations for World War II. Gabriel accused the Greek government of trying to influence ongoing debt negotiations and called the demand "stupid"



DATA

THE FUTURE OF RELIGION

The Pew Research Center forecast that by 2050 the number of Muslims globally will nearly equal the number of Christians. Here is how major religions are projected to grow from 2010 to 2050:



+73%
Islam



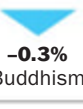
+35%
Christianity



+34%
Hinduism



+16%
Judaism



-0.3%
Buddhism



The Legacy of War

VIETNAM Tran Thien Nhan, born in 2001, is bathed by his mother in the port city of Danang on April 6. Doctors believe his developmental problems are due to his father's exposure to dioxins like those in the Agent Orange herbicide used by the U.S. military during the Vietnam War, which ended 40 years ago this month. *Photograph by James Nachtwey for TIME*

EXPLAINER

Kenya's Battle Against Somali Militants

Kenyan fighter jets bombed Islamist training camps in neighboring Somalia on April 6 in response to the attack by the Somalia-based militant group al-Shabab at Garissa University College that killed 148 people four days earlier. The massacre has put the government of President Uhuru Kenyatta under renewed pressure to ensure security.

Foreign Intervention

Kenya has troops in Somalia as part of the U.N.-backed peacekeeping mission against al-Shabab, and the insurgents have said the April 2 attack was motivated by their continuing presence there. But Kenyatta (*right*) has dismissed opposition calls to withdraw soldiers from the country.



Domestic Action

The government moved to prevent the funding of future attacks by Somalis in Kenya by freezing the assets of 13 money-transfer firms on April 8, as well as 86 bank accounts. Officials have also touted a plan to build a wall along Kenya's 424-mile border with Somalia.

Reforms Needed

Kenyatta has been criticized for failing to restructure his country's corrupt and ineffective security apparatus since unveiling reforms in 2011. Kenya's rapid-response force took hours to arrive on the scene on April 2, raising fears that officials are ill prepared for future attacks.



CHINA

18 MINUTES

The mating time of two captive giant pandas on April 4, a 2015 record; breeding pandas in captivity is notoriously difficult



Trending In



DIPLOMACY

Iraqi Prime Minister Haider al-Abadi will meet with President Barack Obama at the White House on April 14 to discuss the ongoing U.S. support of Iraqi-led operations against ISIS militants. It will be al-Abadi's first visit to the U.S. since taking power in September.



RIGHTS

Iran announced on April 4 that it would allow women to attend most major sporting events, except for "masculine" sports such as wrestling or swimming. Previously, women were not allowed inside stadiums to watch matches attended by men.



JUSTICE

An Indonesian court rejected appeals on April 6 from two Australians who are among 10 native and foreign drug smugglers on death row there. President Joko Widodo, who has taken a hard line on drug trafficking, has refused to grant clemency despite pleas from Australia and others.

Tech

Crown Jewels

Tech is building monuments in glass and steel

BY MATT VELLA

ON MARCH 30, FACEBOOK CEO MARK ZUCKERBERG ANNOUNCED THAT THE MENLO PARK, CALIF.-based company had finally moved into its newest quarters, a 433,555-sq.-ft. box with a parklike roof created by architect Frank Gehry. “The building itself is pretty simple and isn’t fancy,” Zuckerberg wrote on his Facebook page. That may be, but it is also carefully designed open space. The company is building on decades of data—and its own experience—showing how free-form connections among employees are important in generating new ideas. Earlier this year, Google submitted a plan to redevelop part of its Mountain View, Calif., campus into four futuristic hubs under sweeping glass canopies. Instead of immovable concrete buildings, the company wants to construct lightweight structures that can be easily reconfigured as it explores new businesses (think self-driving cars or medical technology). Similar megaprojects under way at Apple and Amazon point to a wider break with the past. Technology’s most powerful (and wealthy) companies are grappling with how to be environmentally responsible while recruiting and retaining workers and continuing to foster innovation. “They’re betting that if you’re in the right space, you’re going to work hard; you’re going to be happier,” says Margaret O’Mara, an associate professor at the University of Washington who has studied the rise of Silicon Valley. “This signals a different phase in their history.”



1. Amazon / Seattle 3.3 million sq. ft.

Three 38-story office towers in an underdeveloped downtown area will be built around glass bio-domes

2. Apple / Cupertino, Calif. 2.8 million sq. ft.

The four-story circular building, to be completed in 2016, is designed to house some 12,000 employees

3. Facebook / Menlo Park, Calif. 433,555 sq. ft.

Facebook’s new building features a nine-acre green roof with a half-mile walking loop and over 400 trees

4. Google / Mountain View, Calif. 2.5 million sq. ft.

Google wants to add bike paths and retail space to better integrate with the surrounding community

FACEBOOK: RENDERINGS COURTESY AMAZON, APPLE, GOOGLE

A man in a red t-shirt and blue overalls stands in a brewery, leaning on a metal railing. He is looking up at a large stainless steel tank. The tank has a label that reads "MASH/LAUTER TUN" and "CAP. 15 BBL". The background shows other tanks and pipes, with a blue digital overlay of circuitry and numbers.

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Nation



In to win Paul at his April 7 kickoff in Louisville, Ky.; he needs to build on his libertarian base

Theory of Evolution To reinvent the GOP, Rand Paul had to change first

BY ALEX ALTMAN

SOMETIMES STAGECRAFT CAN TELL A STORY better than a speech. By the time Rand Paul stepped to the podium in a Louisville hotel on April 7 to announce his White House bid, the campaign's themes had been spelled out by the gender and skin tones of supporters preceding him. The Hispanic state senator. The African-American pastor. The young woman from the University of Kentucky.

Paul's presidential campaign is rooted in a promise that his libertarian-tinged ideas are the best way to bring new blood into the GOP. As Republicans struggle to adapt to demographic change, the pitch to build a bigger, broader and more inclusive party has helped Paul stand out. But the challenge has proved harder than expected.

Reinventing the Republican Party has required reinventions for Paul as well. The Kentucky Senator's climb in the polls came as the GOP warmed to the merits of his more restrained foreign policy. But lately the grisly rise of the Islamic State of Iraq and Greater Syria and the Iranian nuclear negotiations have rekindled the party's hawkish leanings. Paul reacted to the shift by promis-

ing to boost the defense budget, calling for air strikes to fight ISIS and emphasizing U.S. ties to Israel. After a brief flirtation with immigration reform, he has adopted tough border policies. In a shift in tone, he now calls same-sex marriage a "moral crisis" that "offends" him.

Such tweaks have positioned Paul to compete for swaths of the party that might once have dismissed him. But coalition building is a balancing act. Attracting new fans may alienate the libertarian base he inherited from his father Ron. A message that appeals to evangelicals in Iowa is apt to flop in the colleges and urban communities where Paul is betting he can build new bridges.

But the strategy has undeniably propelled Paul from a Tea Party curiosity to the forefront of the party. He is running toward the top of early polls, with a stocked bank account and devoted networks in early-primary states. If changing the GOP occasionally requires Paul to change his tune, most supporters are O.K. with that. "Anything that needs to be tweaked or massaged or polished to get from here to there," says David Adams, his former Senate campaign chairman, "is fair game."

The Rundown

ABORTION Kansas became the first state to ban second-trimester procedures that its law calls "dismemberment abortions." They involve removing the fetus in pieces with surgical instruments. The law, effective July 1, makes an exception in cases where a woman's life is in danger. Abortion-rights advocates maintain that the procedure is the safest option at that point in a pregnancy.

ENVIRONMENT The National Marine Fisheries Service says 2,250 sea lions have washed up onto Southern California beaches in 2015, more than double the number of strandings during the same period in 2013, the previous worst season. Experts blame shrinking food supplies.

TRAVEL

\$674,841.06

Money, in loose change, that airline passengers left at major U.S. airport checkpoints in the 2014 fiscal year, according to the Transportation Security Administration.

FOLLOW-UP FERGUSON

This week's cover story



examines a new police-shooting case, in North Charleston, S.C. Meanwhile, voters

in the St. Louis suburb of Ferguson elected two African-American candidates to its city council in the first municipal election since a white policeman fatally shot an unarmed black teen in August—the subject of TIME's Sept. 1, 2014, cover story, "The Tragedy of Ferguson."

Health

\$2.5
BILLIONAnnual U.S.
spending on
commercial
weight-loss plans

Dieter's Dilemma Science weighs in on which popular weight-loss plans truly work

BY ALICE PARK

IF YOU WANT TO DROP A FEW POUNDS, YOU DON'T HAVE TO look far for plans that promise extraordinary results. But finding proof of the long-term effectiveness of a diet—especially the kind you have to pay for—isn't so easy. A new paper in the *Annals of Internal Medicine* combed through more than 4,200 studies on commercial weight-loss plans and found that just 45 of them were done under the gold scientific standard of randomly assigning people to a weight-loss program or not and then tracking their weight changes over time. And in those studies, users of only two plans, Weight Watchers and Jenny Craig, were followed for at least a year.

Such a lack of good research is a problem not just for diet-

ers but also for doctors. The American Medical Association urges physicians to screen for and treat people who are overweight or obese as they would any patient with a chronic disease, but absent solid data, doctors are in a bind. "Now that obesity is coming under the medical umbrella, it's really going to put pressure on whether commercial programs ... have good evidence to show their effectiveness," says lead study author Dr. Kimberly Gudzune, associate professor at Johns Hopkins University. It's also a challenge for insurers that need to determine which plans to cover.

For now, here's what rigorous research reveals about five very popular weight-loss plans.

WEIGHT WATCHERS

This was one of two plans in which dieters were followed for at least a year, according to the paper. People who stick to the plan **lose about 3% more weight than controls**. Experts say there's enough evidence of the effectiveness of this **point-based system** for doctors to recommend it to overweight or obese patients.



Foods are
assigned
different point
values

JENNY CRAIG

The only other plan whose adherents were tracked for more than a year, it helped dieters **lose 5% more weight than controls**. Other research found the plan helped those with diabetes manage their condition. That's encouraging to doctors, but the program is costly, with enrollment and monthly fees, and it requires eating branded meals daily.



Prepackaged
meals are
part of the
program

NUTRISYSTEM

This system is based on portion control. Users **lost an average of 4% more than controls**. None of the studies of this plan extend beyond three months, however, so **the diet's long-term effectiveness is not known**. Most of those studied were also older than those in trials of other diet programs.



Meals and
snacks are
portion-
controlled

LOW-FAT

After decades of reigning supreme, the low-fat strategy for weight loss is coming under fire. **Cutting fat led people to eat more carbs and sugar**, which can cause weight gain. While a low-fat diet is still advised to maintain a healthy heart, studies show slashing fat may not be the most efficient way to slim down.



Less fat
means more
veggies—
and more
carbs

LOW-CARB

Under the flagship of Atkins, these diets cut back on starchy and sugary foods like rice, pasta and fruit and are more lenient about fats from meat and dairy. **Recent studies found that's a good way to lose weight**, since cutting carbs meant dieters ate more fiber, which helps people feel fuller on fewer calories.



A high-fiber,
low-carb diet
leads to less
eating

Milestones



Protesters outside the UVa Phi Kappa Psi house in November

RETRACTED

A Rape Story That Shook the Country *Rolling Stone* takes one back

When *Rolling Stone* published an account late last year of a brutal gang rape at a University of Virginia fraternity house, it crystallized concerns about a national campus-rape problem. Frats were suspended, reforms were implemented, a national discussion ensued.

Then it all fell apart.

After the *Washington Post* pointed to major inconsistencies in the story from the acuser known as Jackie, the magazine said its trust in her had been “misplaced” and asked Columbia’s Graduate School of Journalism to take an independent look at what had gone wrong. On April 5 Columbia released a searing report documenting a “journalistic failure that was avoidable,” and *Rolling Stone* formally retracted the piece.

The retraction capped a painful controversy that has roiled UVa’s campus since the story was published in November, causing protests, an overhaul of the university’s Greek system and threats of physical violence and vandalism against the fraternity named in the story, Phi Kappa Psi. But it also left advocates for campus sexual-assault victims fearful that the whole episode would make victims less likely to come forward—a fear *Rolling Stone* echoed. “Sexual assault is a serious problem on college campuses, and it is important that rape victims feel comfortable stepping forward,” managing editor Will Dana said. “It saddens us to think that their willingness to do so might be diminished by our failings.”

The troubles at *Rolling Stone* may not be over yet. The fallout hasn’t cost anyone a job, but a lawsuit may be in the magazine’s future; the UVa chapter of Phi Kappa Psi said it planned to “pursue all available legal action” against the magazine.

But at least for UVa, the saga is over. —ELIZA GRAY



CONVICTED

In the 2013 bombing of the Boston Marathon that killed three people and injured more than 260 others, **Dzhokhar Tsarnaev**, 21. He may face the death penalty but could get life in prison instead.

WON

The NCAA men’s college basketball championship, by **Duke University**. It’s the fifth time that the team and its head coach, Mike Krzyzewski, have won the title.

DIED

Gun-control activist **Sarah Brady**, 73. Her late husband James S. Brady was shot and partially paralyzed during an assassination attempt on President Ronald Reagan while serving as his press secretary in 1981.

DIED

Manoel de Oliveira, 106, a Portuguese filmmaker. He directed his first short film in 1931 and became particularly active in his old age, making almost one feature film a year from 1990 through 2010.

REQUIRED

That all **FBI agents** pass a physical-fitness exam by October, for the first time in 16 years. Requirements vary by age and gender and include sit-ups, push-ups and sprinting.

DIED

Dr. Fredric Brandt, 65, a celebrity dermatologist who was on the forefront of the use of Botox and other antiaging skin treatments.

RE-ELECTED

Rahm Emanuel Mayor of Chicago

To anyone familiar with Rahm Emanuel, the outcome of Chicago’s mayoral runoff election on April 7 should not have been a surprise. The brash former Congressman and chief of staff to President Obama is accustomed to getting his way—and quick to lash out on the rare occasions when he doesn’t. Since becoming mayor of the nation’s third largest city in 2011, that hard-charging style has helped Emanuel lower the crime rate and extend the school day. But all fights have casualties, and Emanuel’s agenda alienated many of the city’s teachers and working-class parents. As he ran for a second term, those voters rallied behind Cook County commissioner Jesus “Chuy” Garcia as a populist alternative. The hopes of liberals across the nation were buoyed when Garcia forced Emanuel into Chicago’s first mayoral runoff.

But Emanuel has never lost an election, and he easily won the runoff with 56% of the vote. Still, his critics can perhaps claim some measure of success. At his victory party, Emanuel described his re-election as a second chance and said, “I understand the challenges we face will require me to approach them differently and work in a different fashion.”

Humbling Rahm Emanuel? A rare achievement indeed.

—BEN GOLDBERGER

Chicago Mayor
Rahm Emanuel





TIME

A YEAR IN SPACE

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DIRECTED BY: SHAUL SCHWARZ AND MARCO GROB

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Bye-Bye Great Satan

A deal with the U.S. undermines Iranian hard-liners and gives reformers hope



THERE COMES A MOMENT AT AN IRANIAN Passover seder when people gleefully start beating one another with leeks to celebrate the Jewish people's liberation from Egypt. Go figure. I was expecting a particularly brutal whupping from my friends Roya Hakakian and Dr. Ramin Ahmadi on the night after the Iran nuclear-deal framework agreement was announced. They know I favor the deal; I figured they would oppose it. Both are refugees from the Islamic Republic. Ramin, in particular, has been cited in the Iranian press as a subversive agent, paid by the CIA to conduct secret antiregime training sessions for young Iranians in Dubai and elsewhere.

The charges are laughable: Ramin is an Iranian leprechaun, if such a thing is possible—born a Muslim but converted to Judaism when he married Roya. He's on the Yale University medical faculty, a poet and writer. He does favor regime change, but through peaceful means—and he has trained more than 200 young Iranians in nonviolence workshops. His students have gone home to lead the Tehran street protests in recent years. So I asked with some trepidation, "What do you think of the deal?"

IT'S FANTASTIC!" RAMIN SAID, WITH A SLIGHTLY naughty smile. "It's very positive." Really? "Yes," he said. "It totally undermines the regime's credibility." For years, the hard-liners who actually run the show—the Supreme Leader and his Revolutionary Guards Corps generals—have presented America as the Great Satan. It was the prime rationale for repression: order and discipline were necessary to meet the U.S. threat. This was an argument that seemed to hold little water with the majority of Iranians, who favor reform; in my experience, and according to some polls, Iranians are the most pro-American Muslims in the region. Western news and culture—fed by satellite dishes, which are ubiquitous—are dominant in the society. "The question is," Ramin went on, "how can America remain the Great Satan if you're making deals with them?" That's why people were dancing in the streets of Tehran. "It was the prospect of a better economy, for sure, but it was also the hope that this was the beginning of the end of the Islamic Republic."

Ramin's argument was bolstered by an obscure but significant point raised by Mehdi Khalaji, a scholar at the Washington Institute for Near East Policy who is the son of an Iranian ayatollah who has been imprisoned by the regime. Khalaji, writing

DEAL OR NO DEAL?



IRANIAN UNITY

Iran's leaders, even the commander of the Revolutionary Guards, support a deal with the U.S. The pro-government news agency IRNA found that 96% of Tehran residents feel the same way.



OBAMA'S FIGHT

A Washington Post/ABC News poll found that 59% of Americans would support lifting sanctions on Iran if it limits Iran's nuclear program. Forty-seven GOP Senators have expressed opposition.

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with Patrick Clawson, notes that Iranian President Hassan Rouhani used the word *tavafogh* rather than a more legal formulation to describe the nuclear deal. "*Tavafogh* by itself resonates in Iranians' ears as something more than a legal agreement," they write. "The word is also used to describe conciliation between two people who have been at odds. In addition, it has the connotation of peace, as contrasted with strife."

That is why the elected Iranian government—Rouhani and his Foreign Minister, Javad Zarif—will face opposition from the more extreme factions of the regime, like General Mohammad Reza Naqdi of the Basij religious militia, who suddenly popped up after the deal, calling the Americans "liars," and also said "erasing Israel off the map" is "nonnegotiable." The Basij is a domestic street gang known for unprovoked attacks on students and journalists; Naqdi is the Sheriff Joe Arpaio of Iran, and he gave immediate ballast to Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's refrain that the Iranians can't be trusted. Given the surprising strength of the deal—especially the reduced number of centrifuges allowed to enrich uranium for peaceful use—Netanyahu needed all the help he could get. He was forced to resort to the spurious argument that the framework would launch a nuclear-arms race in the region. Actually, that's what will happen if a deal isn't reached—and this deal could still, easily, collapse over the not-so-small print.

THE WEIRD IDEOLOGICAL CONFLUENCE BETWEEN Likudnik neoconservatives and the Iranian hard-liners in opposition to the deal is instructive. It is reflexive, uninformed, pessimistic. By contrast, Ramin Ahmadi's view seems improbably fresh and fiendishly delightful. Over dessert, after the leek beating had subsided, he laid out the uncertain new landscape that the Iranian left suddenly had in common with the desperately-seeking-Satan hard-liners. The left—which has tolerated the regime because it hates American imperialism—was now liberated to hate both the regime and the Americans, which was perverse good news: they might join the moderate opposition in the streets. The hard-liners were split, awaiting definitive word from the Supreme Leader. "The people dancing in the streets believe their lives will immediately improve. But the sanctions won't go away overnight—and even then, it will take time for the economy to recover," Ramin concluded. "Nothing crushes a dictator more effectively than rising expectations." ■

A man with a mustache, wearing a blue and white plaid shirt and jeans, sits in a wooden canoe on a calm lake. He holds a long wooden paddle. In the background, there are green mountains and a blue and white tent pitched on the shore. A duck is swimming in the water near the canoe.

OF COURSE IT'S GREAT
IT'S CAMPING
AND IT'S AMERICAN

WILDLIFE FAN &
GREAT AMERICAN
NICK OFFERMAN



GREAT AMERICAN
CAMPOUT

PITCH A TENT TO PROTECT WILDLIFE
PLEDGE TO CAMP AT
NWF.ORG/CAMPOUT

Photo: Emily Shur

LINE 0

AN UNARMED BLACK MAN IS SHOT BY A POLICE OFFICER—AND THIS TIME A VIDEO RECORDS THE KILLING

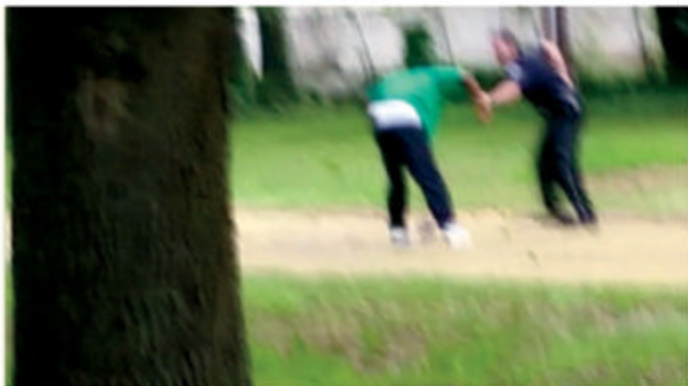


*North Charleston, S.C., officer Michael
T. Slager shot Walter L. Scott in the
back as Scott fled, unarmed, on April 4*

FIRE

G. WHERE THE DEBATE ON RACISM AND LAW ENFORCEMENT GOES FROM HERE BY DAVID VON DREHLE





Top, left to right, Scott twists away from Slager, who draws and shoots. Below, Slager handcuffs Scott where he lies, then a second officer arrives

ON A CLEAR SATURDAY MORNING in North Charleston, S.C., a police officer drew his .45 caliber Glock service sidearm, braced his arms in a shooter's stance, drew a bead on a fleeing suspect and fired.

Not once. Not twice. Eight times. The sound was almost like a string of firecrackers. *Pop-pop-pop-pop-pop-pop-pop.* Then, after the briefest of pauses, one more *pop*. Somehow, Walter Lamer Scott, 50, managed to keep moving away from the lead hailstorm, but the last shot finally crumpled him. He died a short time later with multiple bullets in his back.

We know all this because millions of people carry smartphone cameras, and one of them was standing on the other side of a chain-link fence. We also know that the officer, Michael Thomas Slager, is a white man of 33. And that Scott was an unarmed black man whose brake light was malfunctioning.

These bits of knowledge add up to something catalytic in America's painful examination of the way black men are treated by law enforcement. What happened across

the fence from that video camera was the thing in its ugliest form: a man running away, an officer in no apparent danger, an unrestrained use of force. After the man was down, the officer appeared to place something—perhaps the officer's Taser—beside the dying body. When the video surfaced three days after the April 4 killing, Slager was arrested and charged with murder, a crime punishable in South Carolina by life in prison or the death penalty.

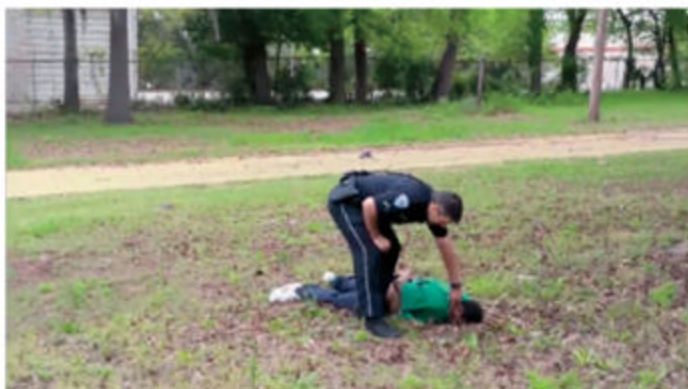
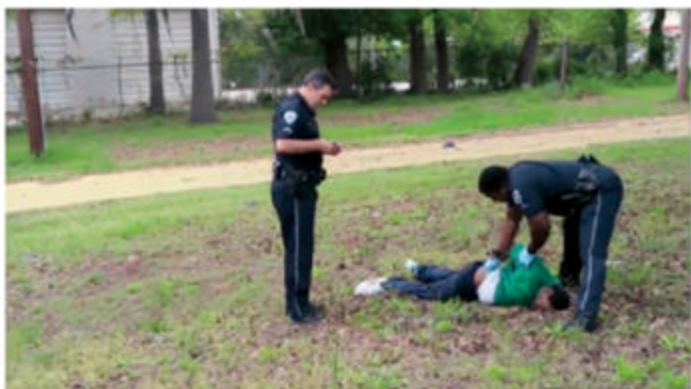
"Where would we be without that video?" attorney Justin Bamberg wondered on behalf of Scott's family. The answer to that question is important. Before the video emerged, the killing of Walter Scott had occupied the same contested territory in which hundreds of other cases have languished and festered—famous cases, like the killings of Eric Garner in New York and Michael Brown in Ferguson, Mo., and other cases that barely register in the police blotter. Slager told investigators that after he sought to question Scott about his brake light, the encounter somehow escalated. Scott, it was reported, had a warrant out for his arrest over delinquent child-support payments. The two men wrestled

over Slager's Taser, the officer said, and Slager felt threatened.

The routine encounter that gets out of hand, the abrupt escalation from questions to gunfire—the themes are so common that it's hard to avoid two conclusions, which sit uncomfortably together in the American mind. First, that it must be scary to be a police officer in such circumstances. And second, that it is even more frightening—with an overlay of humiliation—to be the black man in the picture.

Walter Scott's brother Anthony has struggled with the toxic reality that "you go from a traffic stop to someone being killed. It just didn't make any sense to me, no sense to me at all, none at all," he said in an interview with *TIME*. His brother was a forklift driver and a fan of the Dallas Cowboys, he said. Though Scott had been arrested about 10 times over the years, mostly for missing court hearings and failure to pay child support, he was a loving father to his four children, according to his brother. "He wanted to rent an RV and take all four of his kids on a cruise, and he wanted to take them to Disney World."

Anthony said he was at a vigil for his



brother when “a gentleman came over to me and said he had something to share with me.” The man pulled him aside and showed him the video he had taken. “I was angry. Shocked. And knew that we had to have it so that we could prove that he was innocent.”

Meanwhile, the outcome for Slager is impossible to know. Though he was being held without bail, though he was denounced by officials from South Carolina Governor Nikki Haley to Senators Lindsey Graham and Tim Scott, though his own lawyer dropped his case and North Charleston Mayor Keith Summey said flatly that the shooting was “wrong,” it remains difficult to convict a police officer in many jurisdictions. Communities ask a lot of the men and women who patrol the line between order and lawlessness; in return, the public tends to cut them a lot of slack. A recent analysis by the *State* newspaper in Columbia, S.C., found that officers in the Palmetto State fired their weapons at 209 suspects from 2010 to 2015, but the handful of cops who were charged with illegal shootings were eventually exonerated. The officer charged with manslaughter in the

choking death of Garner was likewise acquitted last year, despite video of the victim rasping, “I can’t breathe!” as the cop maintained his throat hold.

Still, the North Charleston video has already put an exclamation point on the assertion made by protesters across the country that the dead are not always to blame. There are good ways and bad ways, right ways and wrong ways, to exercise the duties and powers of a police officer. When things go wrong—as they do with distressing frequency when white cops stop black suspects—sometimes it is the officer’s fault.

It’s possible, then, that the shooting in

South Carolina (the third police-related shooting in the state involving white officers and unarmed black suspects since February of last year) will advance the issue from the realm of argument to the search for solutions. One place to start is inside police departments, where the impulse to close ranks now threatens to poison the reputation of law enforcement.

“People want to make generalizations that cops get away with stuff most of the time. No, they don’t. Most of the time their uses of force are appropriate,” says Delroy Burton, chairman of the Washington, D.C., police union. “But now, every single case of deadly use of force, particularly where race is a factor, it automatically becomes racism, and that’s just not true ... The fact that officers now are guilty until proven innocent, or the force is inappropriate until an investigation is done—I think that sends a bad message to police officers, and I think it’s a waste of resources for society in general.”

And yet, there is a gap between Slager’s story to the cops and what appears on the video. As Chris Stewart, another lawyer for the dead man’s family, put it after the

THE SHOOTING OUGHT TO PUT POLICE DEPARTMENTS ON THE SAME SIDE WITH THE PROTESTERS WHO ARE DEMANDING CHANGE

murder charge was filed, “What happened today doesn’t happen all the time. What if there was no video?”

Enlightened law enforcement leaders are coming to understand that the best path forward is more video, not less. The day after the murder charge was filed, Charleston police officials expanded on a plan to add about 100 body-mounted cameras to officers’ gear; in the aftermath of the video’s release, they promised to add 150 more cameras and said all city cops would eventually wear one. Of course, dashboard and body cameras should be the friends of well-trained, honest cops. The good apples are able to rely on more than their own word when they find themselves in trouble. The bad apples feel less free to level their weapons with impunity. Video is a tool by which the police can better police themselves.

The anguish over the troubled relationship between police departments and black citizens is national in scope. But there is relatively little that the federal government can do to solve the problem. The Department of Justice is seeking greater power to bring civil rights actions where they might be warranted—but this is, by its nature, an after-the-fact answer. Mending the relationship must take place town by town, department by department. “You’ve got over 18,000 local police agencies,” says Tanya Clay House, public policy director at the Lawyer’s Committee for Civil Rights Under Law. “Not every one’s leadership is going to acknowledge the responsibility they have, and deal internally with the culture that’s present in their agency. But I do hope that this is a reality check.”

The shocking nature of the South Carolina shooting, so vividly captured on the video, ought to put police departments on the same side with the protesters who are demanding change. Everyone would benefit from less suspicion and fear. Everyone shares an interest in better training and technology to reduce the number of times the gun comes out of the holster. Everyone would be happier in a climate of trust among police and the public. No matter who you are, if you’ve seen Walter Scott gunned down, you now know what the problem looks like. Senseless and tragic, it is nonetheless a step toward solutions.

—WITH REPORTING BY JOSH SANBURN AND JUSTIN WORLAND/NEW YORK CITY AND ALEX ALTMAN AND MAYA RHODAN/WASHINGTON ■

FROM TRAYVON MARTIN TO WALTER SCOTT CASES IN THE SPOTLIGHT



Trayvon Martin's 2012 death in Florida sparked a national outcry

Feb. 26, 2012

Neighborhood watch volunteer George Zimmerman fatally shoots unarmed 17-year-old **Trayvon Martin** after an altercation in a Sanford, Fla., subdivision. The incident sparked a national conversation about race and prompted President Obama to say that were he to have a son, “he’d look like Trayvon.” Zimmerman, who argued that he acted in self-defense, was acquitted of second-degree murder and manslaughter in July 2013.

Feb. 9, 2014

Ernest Satterwhite, 68, is shot and killed in his driveway by a white public-safety officer in North Augusta, S.C., following a slow-speed car chase. Justin Craven fired multiple rounds through the driver-side door of the vehicle. The officer alleges that Satterwhite reached for his weapon; Satterwhite’s family disputes the allegation. Craven was charged with a felony for discharging his gun into an occupied vehicle on April 7, the same day Michael Slager was charged with murdering Walter Scott. He faces up to 10 years in prison.

April 30, 2014

Milwaukee police officer Christopher Manney fatally shoots **Dontre Hamilton**, an unarmed 31-year-old African American with a history of mental illness, in a downtown park. Manney alleged that Hamilton, who appeared to be homeless, attempted to grab his baton during a pat down. Manney says he shot Hamilton 14 times in self-defense. Manney was fired in October but was not charged in the shooting.



Eric Garner, right, was killed after an encounter with police on July 17; the officer was not charged

July 17, 2014

Eric Garner, 43, dies after being wrestled to the ground as New York City police attempted to arrest him for selling illegal cigarettes. In a cell-phone video recorded by a bystander, Garner can be heard repeatedly saying, "I can't breathe." The phrase was soon adopted as a rallying cry by protesters. On Dec. 3, a grand jury decided not to indict NYPD officer Daniel Pantaleo in Garner's death.

Aug. 5, 2014

John Crawford III, 22, is shot inside a Walmart in Beavercreek, Ohio, after picking up an air rifle from the shelf. While police say they repeatedly asked Crawford, who was black, to drop the gun, surveillance video shows that police shot the man soon after approaching him.

Aug. 9, 2014

Darren Wilson, a white Ferguson, Mo., police officer, fatally shoots unarmed 18-year-old **Michael Brown**, setting off months of unrest in the St. Louis area. Protests erupted nationwide in November, when Wilson was not indicted in Brown's death. But the shooting prompted a Justice Department investigation of the Ferguson Police Department. In March, after the scathing report found instances of overt racism among officers and a pattern of arrests targeting black residents, Ferguson's police chief and city manager resigned.

Sept. 4, 2014

Levar Jones, 35, is shot multiple times by 31-year-old Sean Groubert, a white South Carolina state trooper, seconds after being stopped for a seat-belt violation, all of which was caught on the officer's dash cam. Jones, who was black and unarmed, survived and can be heard on a video asking, "Why did you shoot me?" Groubert was later fired and charged with assault and battery, which carries a sentence of 20 years in prison. A verdict is expected later this year.



Protesters sign a portrait of Michael Brown, killed Aug. 9 in Ferguson, Mo.

Nov. 22, 2014

Tamir Rice, 12, is fatally shot and killed in a Cleveland park after police responded to a 911 call reporting a person with a gun. The caller warned that the gun may have been fake, but the officers say they didn't know that. Officer Timothy Loehmann shot Rice within seconds of arriving on the scene. Rice's gun turned out to have been a toy. A group of political and religious leaders have called for criminal charges to be brought against the officers involved, and a grand jury plans to hear evidence in the case.

Dec. 2, 2014

Rumain Brisbon, 34, is shot and killed by a Phoenix police officer following a drug-related traffic stop in which Brisbon, who was black, fled, refused arrest and appeared to be reaching for a weapon. Brisbon was shot by Mark Rine, a 30-year-old white officer. The incident set off several demonstrations in downtown Phoenix. On April 1, a Maricopa County attorney announced that criminal charges would not be brought against Rine.

March 1, 2015

Los Angeles police officers shoot and kill a black homeless man named **Charly "Africa" Leundeun Keunang**, following a confrontation in the city's Skid Row, an area with a heavy

concentration of homeless people. Officers said the man attempted to take one of their guns.

March 6, 2015

Naeschylus Vinzant, a 37-year-old unarmed black man, is shot in the chest and killed by Paul Jerothe, a police officer in Aurora, Colo. At the time of the shooting, Vinzant was violating his parole and had removed his ankle bracelet. He also had a violent criminal history but was unarmed as officers tried to arrest him. Jerothe, a SWAT team medic officer, has been placed on administrative leave pending an investigation.

March 6, 2015

Tony Robinson, a 19-year-old biracial man, is shot by a white Madison, Wis., police officer after Robinson was allegedly jumping in and out of traffic. Matt Kenny, a 45-year-old officer who was exonerated in a 2007 shooting of an African-American man, got into an altercation with Robinson when he entered an apartment in which Robinson was reportedly acting aggressively. Kenny, who says he was attacked by Robinson, was placed on administrative leave with pay pending the results of an investigation.

March 9, 2015

Anthony Hill, a black 27-year-old Air Force veteran, is shot and killed in Chamblee, Ga., by Robert Olsen, a white DeKalb County Police Department officer. Hill was naked and unarmed at the time of the incident and was apparently knocking on multiple apartment doors inside a housing complex. Olsen has been placed on leave. An investigation by the Georgia Bureau of Investigation is currently under way.

April 4, 2015

Walter Scott, a 50-year-old black man, is shot and killed as he's apparently fleeing North Charleston officer Michael Slager, 33. Slager, who is white, alleges that Scott reached for his Taser. A video recorded by a bystander appears to show Scott running away from the officer as he's shot in the back eight times.



Samuel Scott holds a snapshot of his cousin Walter Scott, with loved ones

TRUTH AND CONSEQUENCES. DEBATING THE MEANING AND POTENTIAL IMPACT OF A DAMNING VIDEO

ATTORNEY BENJAMIN CRUMP

Will America Now Challenge the Standard Police Narrative?

WHAT STARTED OUT AS A ROUTINE TRAFFIC stop quickly escalated into the death of Walter Scott. The city of North Charleston, S.C., was all too willing to accept the officer's version of events, even though the physical evidence clearly showed that the officer had fired eight shots, with four of the eight hitting Scott in the back.

Far too often the police come up with the same narrative: I felt threatened, I felt afraid, the victim struggled with me, he reached for my gun. This is the same old story from officers who shoot unarmed black men. If not for the video, the officer would have been believed and his story would never have been questioned by the justice system or city officials.

I've represented dozens of families of unarmed people of color who have been killed by police officers. And if I had a dollar for every time the reason given by the police was that "they reached for my weapon" or "they attacked me and I felt in fear for my life," I wouldn't have enough room in my pockets. What's sad is how often the police narrative is accepted, with no one but the family raising questions. The death of an unarmed individual is swept under the rug. Walter Scott's death was well on the way to being swept under the rug—but

for the video. Therein lies the problem.

This video was shocking to much of America, but for many of us it was a scene we have experienced so many times in our communities that we weren't shocked at all. When I saw it, I imagined how many times evidence has been planted, how many times untrue stories have been given as official statements, to help justify the killing of innocent people of color. "Without the video ... it would be difficult for us to ascertain exactly what did occur," the mayor of North Charleston, Keith Summey, said.

But is that really true? I do not agree that it would be difficult. An unarmed black man is shot multiple times from behind while he is fleeing from an offi-

IF NOT FOR THE VIDEO, THE OFFICER WOULD HAVE BEEN BELIEVED AND HIS STORY WOULD NEVER HAVE BEEN QUESTIONED BY THE JUSTICE SYSTEM OR CITY OFFICIALS

cer? That does not point to justified use of deadly force.

If this video shocked you, how about the video of the beating of Floyd Dent in Inkster, Mich., or the video of the fatal shooting of Tamir Rice in Cleveland? What about the video of the shooting of Antonio Zambrano-Montes in Pasco, Wash., and the video of the beating of Alesia Thomas in Los Angeles, both of whom later died?

Why are we still automatically accepting the police narrative? How many shocking videos of police misconduct do we need to show you, America, before you quit accepting the narrative?

North Charleston Police Chief Eddie Driggers, referring to his officers, said, "One does not throw a blanket across the many." I agree with this statement. It should also apply to black men and all people of color.

There is a blanket of distrust, disrespect and indifference that has been thrown across black men in America. And it is resulting in too many deaths at the hands of armed police officers who claim they are afraid.

Crump is an attorney who represents the families of Trayvon Martin, Michael Brown and Tamir Rice

FORMER POLICE COMMISSIONER
HOWARD SAFIR

Police Brutality Is Inexcusable—and Rare

The shooting in North Charleston, S.C., is an enormous tragedy. The horrific video that is now being seen around the world will do a great deal to hurt the image of police officers and police departments.

Are our police departments brutal, racist and out of control? By every objective

measure they are not. When we have incidents like the Brown case in Ferguson and the Garner case in New York, the media paints with a broad brush, as if these were the norm. That is not the case. Only 1% of encounters between police and citizens result in any use of force at all. Every year hundreds of thousands of police officers put their uniforms on and have millions of interactions with the public. In 9 out of 10 cases, citizens are happy with the interaction and in 99 out of 100, no force is used. Police brutality and misconduct are inexcusable. They are also

relatively rare. Police officers are human beings—they make mistakes and sometimes even commit criminal acts. When that happens they should be held accountable, and they are.

Police officers have seconds to decide whether to use their firearms in any given violent confrontation. The general rule is that it must be in protection of your own life or the life of another. Those seconds, and the training and judgment of the individual police officer, change everyone's lives forever. Having been involved in a shooting early in my



Protesters gathered at City Hall in North Charleston the day after the murder

FILMMAKER ERROL MORRIS

What Photography Can't Prove

My son called me Tuesday night to tell me about “a disgusting video.” I watched it, appalled. But what to make of it? I can report what I have seen—the cold-blooded murder of a black man. But the video is so much more. It is simultaneously a video of a murder and the cover-up of a murder. We are not just treated to eight shots being fired toward the suspect’s back, but also to the police officer’s apparent failure to offer any kind of medical assistance.

So what to make of it? Photography doesn’t offer proof of anything. It merely supplies additional evidence, which otherwise might not be available. The evidence here is crucial because it is in conflict with the police officer’s own story. We wouldn’t know much without the video. And we wouldn’t have the video save for the courageous observers with a cell phone who possibly risked their lives in filming the incident.

Every time there is a police killing of an unarmed black man that goes unpunished, racism is rewarded. Simple as that. The camera vs. the police officer’s account gives us a powerful story. But what are we as a society going to do with it? It’s not a problem that can be magically fixed with cameras. Cameras can offer evidence, but they can’t tell us what to do with that evidence. Here, we have to decide what to do about it. North Charleston Mayor Keith Summey put it this way: “When you’re wrong, you’re wrong. And if you make a bad decision, don’t care if you’re behind the shield or just a citizen on the street, you have to live by that decision.” When you’re wrong, you’re wrong? Bad decision? No, not a bad decision. Racism and murder, and we should face up to that.

Morris is a writer and an Academy Award–winning filmmaker

career, I remember to this day how quickly it all developed and how I reacted instinctively based on my training. If an officer hesitates too long, he could indeed join the 126 who lost their lives in the line of duty last year.

Our citizens gain nothing from demoralized police forces that believe they do not have public support. Demoralized forces will not be as effective as they can be, and that would have a tremendously negative impact on public safety. Effective police departments rely on the public and the community every day. It must not be “us vs. them” but officers

and civilians working together to protect law-abiding citizens.

Policing is a noble profession. Men and women put their lives on the line every day. When one of them commits a crime, or is racist or brutal, swift and appropriate punishment should be carried out. But to ascribe these traits to the majority of police officers is wrong and untrue.

Safir was the commissioner of the New York City Police Department from 1996 to 2000

KAREEM ABDUL-JABBAR

Nothing Less Than an Assassination

ANOTHER DAY, ANOTHER BLACK MAN murdered by police.

The problem is that we’re not all on the same page about what we’re outraged over and what changes we want to take place. Police critics will claim this is another example of systemic police racism. Police defenders will claim that this was just one bad apple. We will hear the same calls for more oversight, the same protests that civilians are interfering in matters they couldn’t possibly understand.

African Americans feel like Alex in *A Clockwork Orange*, forced to watch the same news story playing over and over on some hellish loop: “Unarmed Black Man Killed by Police.” We scream, we try to turn away, but we can’t. There’s always another prone body on the screen.

Walter Scott’s killing should inspire less debate than other recent incidents because of the video. Watching the officer shoot an unarmed, nonthreatening man eight times makes it difficult to see this as anything less than an assassination. It sheds no new light. It just adds another body to the body count.

But Walter Scott does not have to be just another tragic name. It is up to us to not let his death be trivialized. If watching this video doesn’t convince holdouts that racism exists, nothing will. Does anyone really think the officer would have shot Scott if he were white? Racism deniers are like climate-change deniers, letting their hopes blind them to the harsh reality of facts and statistics and blood.

Scott’s death illustrates the need to push harder for the police reforms that are already in the works: more training, more intense oversight by civilians, body cameras and a zero-tolerance policy toward police officers who let their personal biases influence their actions. We need to be as relentless as the racism we’re fighting.

Abdul-Jabbar, a TIME columnist, is a six-time NBA champion





Corker in the Maryville City Municipal Building in Tennessee, his home state

POLITICS

THE TIRELESS TENNESSEE DEALMAKER

Demanding a role for Congress, former Chattanooga mayor Bob Corker is now a key player in the Iran talks

BY MASSIMO CALABRESI

THE MOUNTAIN VIEW INN IN CLEVELAND, Tenn., with its stucco ceilings, track lighting and plastic orchids, is a long way from the \$1,500-a-night suites at the Beau-Rivage Palace Hotel in Lausanne, Switzerland, where U.S. and Iranian diplomats struck a provisional nuclear deal on April 2. But five days after that deal was announced, Tennessee Republican Bob Corker, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, found himself engaging in a debate in the motel's restaurant that could, in its own way, determine the shape of the Middle East.

The 40-odd attendees at the Bradley County Republican Party meet-and-greet that rainy April morning were mostly older, well-informed business people, with a few local politicians and retirees mixed in, and their questions were almost all about the Iran deal. Could the Iranians be trusted? Why wasn't the U.N. doing more? Corker, who had woken at 3:30 that morning to go running so that he could be "fresh" for the day's meetings with constituents, paced and gesticulated, answering their questions with minute detail about centrifuges, uranium stockpiles and shifting strategic interests.

Then Jane Rumbaugh, the 76-year-old

vice president of the Bradley County Republican Women, piped up. Corker had said the Bush and Obama Administrations had developed a “bunker-busting bomb” that could take out the hardest Iranian nuclear targets. “Why can’t we just use the bunker busters and be done with it?” Rumbaugh asked.

The bombs were a last resort, Corker said. If you went to war with Iran, he continued, they’d be certain to try to build a nuclear weapon the next chance they got, destabilizing the region and threatening America’s allies. And setting them back further could require invasion. “Going into Iran would make going into Iraq look like child’s play,” he said. Rumbaugh wasn’t buying it. She still thought the Iranians would learn their lesson if the U.S. just took out their nuclear infrastructure from on high. Shouldering her crocheted stars-and-stripes handbag after the event, she said of the argument that bombing wouldn’t stop Iran, “I don’t believe it.”

For the next 10 weeks or so, Corker is going to be one of the most important people in the world. Since the late 1990s, the West has been trying to ensure that Iran, a persistent backer of terrorists and regional instability, doesn’t get a nuclear weapon. More than anyone else, Corker will determine whether Congress helps or hurts that effort ahead of a June 30 deadline for a final written deal between Tehran and major world powers. Just as crucial, Corker is positioned to be the key arbiter of American support for or opposition to a deal, which may in turn determine whether it actually lasts. Many Republicans, like Rumbaugh, want the U.S. to take a more confrontational approach, while Obama is trying to sell his political framework even before negotiators put into writing the actual details. Corker, who favors diplomacy but won’t sign off on the deal until it’s finalized, has assigned himself the task of moderating an American consensus, one way or the other.

It’s not a role anyone would have imagined for Corker when he arrived in the Senate in 2007. By his own admission, the wiry Senator, who tops out at something close to 5 ft. 6 in. and cheerfully dogs his opponents with a high-speed tenor twang, knew nothing about foreign policy then. A self-made construction millionaire, his claim to political fame was helping turn Chattanooga from a blighted and polluted postindustrial town into a model of urban revitalization.

But Corker fits the mold of many prag-

matic Tennessee Senators of the recent past, such as Howard Baker and Jim Sasser: hardworking, politically savvy and, in an era of reflexive partisanship, instinctively collaborative.

That hasn’t always worked out for Corker on Capitol Hill. His early effort to force auto-bailout sacrifices from both unions and carmakers attracted Democrats to the table but failed to win the support of his Republican colleagues, and he would later join them in voting against the final bill. He labored to produce a key bipartisan section of the Dodd-Frank financial-reform package, only to see the bill pass on partisan lines. (He voted against it even though his provisions remained.) And in 2013, he played a key role in getting the Senate’s immigration-reform bill passed, then watched it die in the more ideological GOP-led House.

Those efforts have nevertheless earned him respect from GOP hard-liners and the White House alike. When it comes to the Iran deal, Obama said April 4, Corker “is somebody who is sincerely concerned about this issue and is a good and decent man.” Whether he’s earned lasting allies for the nuclear-deal fight is another matter. The first test for Corker comes April 14, when he moves forward a bill to give Congress a vote on any deal the U.S. ultimately cuts with Iran. Obama has threatened a veto, saying it could make it impossible to get a signed agreement. Some Republicans grouse that Corker’s bill is not tough enough on Tehran and plan on trying to amend it. Not even Corker knows if his bill, or the deal, will survive. With the fate of the Middle East in play, Corker is jittery about how events will unfold. “We’re a little anxious,” he says.

A Voice for Congress

CORKER HAS ALREADY PLAYED A ROLE IN shaping the Iran deal. On Jan. 19, he arrived in Jerusalem with six other Senators on a

Corker fits the mold of pragmatic Tennessee Senators of the past: hardworking, politically savvy and instinctively collaborative



Middle East mission to see what U.S. allies in the region thought of the talks. Senate Republicans, and some Democrats, were rallying behind a bill that would impose new sanctions on Iran to try to force Tehran to make concessions in the nuclear negotiations. U.S. and Israeli intelligence believed the bill, authored by another moderate Republican, Mark Kirk of Illinois, could blow up the Iran nuclear talks before they had a chance to succeed. Corker agreed with the spooks and had arranged for the head of the Israeli spy service, Mossad, to brief him and his colleagues in hopes of spreading the word about the dangers of Kirk’s bill.

But as Corker arrived at his first appointment, he was informed that Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, who opposed the talks and believes in directly confronting Iran, had canceled the Mossad briefing. Corker, who can be impatient and demanding and was once described by a Chattanooga radio host as “a hothead,” responded by saying he was canceling the rest of his meetings, including one with Netanyahu, and returning to Washington. The trip was salvaged, but only after Ron Dermer, Israel’s ambassador to the U.S., personally intervened with Netanyahu. When the Senators finally received their



Corker, near left, speaks with Senator Robert Menendez, far left, and Secretary of State John Kerry before a Senate Foreign Relations Committee hearing in December

briefing from the head of Mossad, Tamir Pardo, he told them the bill would be like “throwing a grenade” into the talks. On the plane home, Corker pressed his case for sidelining Kirk’s bill.

The events overseas put the legislative ball squarely in Corker’s court, and he quickly began to dribble. His strategy is complicated but vital to the conduct of foreign policy in a politically divided era: he wants to lay down a specially designed legislative road map for getting Obama’s Iranian deal in front of—and potentially through—Congress. That means letting every side have a chance to be heard without letting a tiny minority shut it down.

He started by dusting off a year-old bill that would have imposed new sanctions on Iran. Tim Kaine, a Virginia Democrat who had been with Corker on the Israel trip and has close ties to the White House, wanted to join forces with Corker. Senior Administration officials, including the President, urged Kaine to oppose the Tennesseean’s efforts. But Kaine thinks Congress should weigh in on the deal sooner rather than later.

The revised bill would require Obama to submit the Iran deal to Congress and would block him from lifting sanctions

for 60 days. Congress could then vote to oppose the deal, support it or take no action. Either of the last two options would allow the deal to go ahead.

Though the Administration publicly decried Corker’s bill and has said Obama would veto it, White House officials respect Corker’s effort to play a productive role. In fact, in private, Administration officials concede that his efforts have already helped American negotiators force the Iranians to meet the self-imposed March 31 deadline for an oral agreement.

Not that the Iran deal is done or is even guaranteed to get done. The framework that emerged from Lausanne was sparse in its written version but detailed in what the Administration said it would ultimately be able to deliver. Iran would cut its enriched-uranium stockpile from 10,000 kg to 300 kg. It would take its operating centrifuges from 19,000 installed centrifuges to a little over 6,000.

But it was maddeningly vague on other details. It was not clear when the Americans and their international allies had promised to lift European, U.N. and U.S. sanctions, and the Iranians muddled the waters by claiming they would get immediate and full relief. In the key area of

inspections, which are crucial to preventing Iran from secretly pursuing a bomb, the Administration’s talking points didn’t say how intrusive surprise checks of suspicious sites could be, and the White House dodged questions on the subject in the days after the deal.

The reaction to the Lausanne announcement has been mixed. Netanyahu said a deal based on the April 2 framework would “threaten the survival of Israel.” House Speaker John Boehner said it would “pave the way for a nuclear-armed Iran in the near future.” But the Saudis, Iran’s implacable regional foe, said it was a good deal, as did Democrats and most world powers. For their part, Iranian hard-liners appear to be supporting the deal too, issuing statements in praise of the negotiators and tamping down their normally confrontational rhetoric. Even so, in private, White House officials say they’ll believe they have a deal if and when the Iranians actually sign one.

Which is why Corker argues that the threat of a skeptical Congress hanging over the talks between now and the June 30 deadline will once again help negotiators limit Iran’s expectations for what it can get. More important, he says, if the deal ultimately has Congress’s blessing, it is more likely to last. “If we can pass this bill,” Corker told the members of the Kiwanis Club of Maryville later in the day, on April 7, the all-important details “will be stronger, more enforceable, more accountable, more transparent,” and the U.S. “will have a greater chance of ensuring whatever deal is done is one that will stand the test of time.”

Made in Chattanooga

CORKER IS A PRODUCT OF A NARROW stretch of America running from the Blue Ridge Mountains to the Mississippi and bordering eight states along the way. Tennessee split during the Civil War and has remained politically divided ever since. Slammed by the Great Depression, it was one of the biggest beneficiaries of Franklin Delano Roosevelt’s 1933 Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA), which built dams on the Tennessee River to control flooding and generate electricity for the long-struggling part of the country. The result for eastern Tennessee was jobs, power and ultimately new businesses that were drawn by the massive public-works project.

One of those businesses was chemicals giant DuPont, which built a major plant near Chattanooga thanks to the available power of the TVA dams. Corker’s father

worked for the company, and in 1963 they were transferred there from South Carolina. The competitive 11-year-old Corker made fast work of fitting in at his new school, pitching a no-hitter in his first baseball game, he says. He went on to be student-council president and played two years of baseball at the University of Tennessee, he says. He also played high school football, even though he weighed only 140 lb., according to his college friend Jimmy Haslam, owner of the Cleveland Browns. “Bob’s a competitive individual,” Haslam says. “If you’re going to beat him, you better be prepared to work for a long time.”

Corker has been punching above his weight ever since. After college, Corker went to work for a construction company, supplementing coat-and-tie office work with field experience laying rebar and pouring cement. He saved \$8,000 and started his own company building small shops. He “got into his groove” building drive-throughs for Krystal Burger, a fast-food chain headquartered in Atlanta that was growing rapidly in the 1980s.

If Corker’s business was growing, the city of Chattanooga was a mess. In 1969 it had the dirtiest air in the country—drivers used their headlights in the daytime—and its stretch of the Tennessee River, curving through the heart of the city, was severely polluted. The downtown, which had lost people to the suburbs for years, was beset with crime. By the 1980s it was in “economic and population free-fall,” according to one study.

A few civic leaders were trying to turn the city around, starting with Chattanooga’s riverfront. Corker had been spending weekends repairing houses in poor downtown neighborhoods as part of his church outreach. (Raised a Methodist, he’s now an Episcopalian.) Corker bearded one of the moneymen behind the revitalization movement at lunch one day and pitched the need for more affordable and livable housing. With foundation money behind the idea, Corker was put on the task force that eventually led to housing improvements benefitting 10,000 families.

After a stint as the state’s commissioner of finance and administration in Nashville—essentially its chief operating officer—Corker was recruited back to run for mayor of Chattanooga by its then Democratic mayor Jon Kinsey. By the time he took office in 2001, Chattanooga was well on the way to renewal, but rather than cutting taxes and government spending,

Corker doubled down on the tradition of government improvement, imposing a hotel tax, issuing \$60 million in new debt and using the money to reroute a Riverfront Parkway and open green space, public arts and new housing on the river’s south shore.

Corker arrived in the Senate in 2007 and, with a mayor’s sensibility, imposed a disciplined system of metrics on staffers to ensure constituent service: all field- and caseworkers have numerical targets for site visits and constituent requests they’re expected to handle each month. On the legislative side, Corker set about learning policy. After the financial crisis he dove into the auto-bailout and Dodd-Frank battles. He was later attacked by some on the left for calling JPMorgan CEO Jamie Dimon “one of the best CEOs in the country.” (Corker dismissed JPMorgan’s more than \$6 billion losses from the infamous London Whale as a “blip on the radar screen.”) But Corker was instrumental working with Virginia Democratic Senator Mark Warner on giving the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation new powers to safely resolve failing financial institutions, a provision that ended up being a major part of Dodd-Frank.

Corker was less successful on the 2013 immigration bill. At the height of the battle over the reform package, Corker played a round of golf with Obama and two other Senators at Joint Base Andrews, outside Washington. He says the game was “a very pleasant social experience” and that he and Obama “didn’t really talk about” immigration. Soon after, however, Corker persuaded Democrats to support a \$38 billion amendment to the bill that would have added fencing and agents along the border. The bill ultimately passed but went nowhere in the House. Even so, Corker had established himself as an honest broker. New York Senator Chuck Schumer, likely

‘He’s independent and doesn’t kowtow to anybody. It makes me feel good to know he’s going to be one of the people having a close look at the Iran deal.’

—SHEILA BAIR,
FORMER FDIC CHAIR

the next Democratic leader in the Senate and a fierce partisan, called Corker a “reasonable, trustworthy negotiator” whom “Democrats and the White House can have productive discussions with.”

But it is in the overseas arena that Corker has excelled. In 2010 he bucked powerful Senators in his party to support Obama’s New Start Treaty, which cut U.S. and Russian nuclear arsenals. Corker authored one of the amendments that delivered the votes needed for ratification. And since taking control of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, he has earned consistently high praise from the Obama diplomatic team, though much of that praise has been delivered sotto voce. “He’s independent and doesn’t kowtow to anybody,” says former FDIC Chair Sheila Bair. “It makes me feel good to know he’s going to be one of the people having a close look at the Iran deal.”

Building a Better Deal

CORKER’S IMMEDIATE TASK IS GETTING A veto-proof 67 votes for his bill after he leads the Foreign Relations Committee vote on it on April 14. Corker has said he’s open to amendments from both sides. Republicans are expected to file some blasting Obama’s deal, while Democrats wanted to make changes to soften Congress’s ability to block it. As for the White House’s supposed opposition, even Kaine says he doesn’t think Obama will ultimately veto the bill.

If it gets past Obama, Corker’s bill will set up a period of tough congressional oversight as negotiators try to reach a final written deal by the deadline of June 30. Corker sees his role as building a broader consensus in America for the U.S.-Iran deal, if the negotiators can deliver it. “We want to go through it on behalf of the American people,” Corker says.

Back home, it seems likely Tennesseeans will follow his lead. At the Maryville Kiwanis Club, many citizens were clearly skeptical of the Iran deal and had chosen for their convocation Matthew 7:15: “Beware of false prophets, which come to you in sheep’s clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves.” But they also performed their regular declaration of the club’s global-minded goals: to make the world a better place one child, and one community, at a time. And as one speaker after another got up to thank Corker for his work in Washington, it seemed they trusted him to figure out how to do that. —WITH REPORTING BY ALEX ALTMAN, ALEX ROGERS AND ZEKE J. MILLER/WASHINGTON ■

If You Were Exposed to, or Harmed by, ASBESTOS or ASBESTOS-CONTAINING Products Made, Distributed or Sold by THE FLINTKOTE COMPANY or FLINTKOTE MINES LIMITED,

Please read this Notice of Voting Rights and Hearing to consider whether to approve Reorganization.

TYPES OF PRODUCTS

During the 1930s to the 1980s, products sold by The Flintkote Company and Flintkote Mines Limited (the “Debtors”) may have contained asbestos. These products could have included floor tile, roofing shingles, joint compound, cement pipe, asphalt and other products.

Persons or entities exposed to, or harmed by, the Debtors’ asbestos or asbestos-containing products may have personal injury, wrongful death or other claims against the Debtors. You do not need to (i) have been diagnosed, (ii) have symptoms, or (iii) be impaired to be affected by the Plan.

If you believe you may have been exposed to, or harmed by the Debtors’ products, you may be entitled to vote on the terms of the Reorganization. You should carefully read this notice and the important documents located at <http://www.flintkotebankruptcy.com>.

PLAN OF REORGANIZATION

The Debtors have filed for bankruptcy. On February 9, 2015, the Debtors filed a modified Joint Plan of Reorganization (the “Plan”) with the United States Bankruptcy Court for the District of Delaware (the “Bankruptcy Court”). The Plan includes the terms of a settlement reached between the Debtors and their former indirect parent company, Imperial Tobacco Canada Limited (“ITCAN”). The Plan has been jointly proposed by the Debtors, the Asbestos Claimants Committee and the Future Claimants Representative (collectively, the “Plan Proponents”). As background, the Plan is a modified version of a bankruptcy plan on which Debtors previously solicited votes in 2008 and 2009, and which was confirmed by the Bankruptcy Court on December 21, 2012 (the “Original Plan”).

A document describing the Plan’s changes (the “Disclosure Supplement”), which the Bankruptcy Court approved on March 17, 2015, and a copy of the Plan itself and voting materials (a “Resolicitation Package”), has been mailed to known holders of claims against the Debtors or their lawyers.

THE TRUST

The Plan provides for a trust to be established to pay eligible asbestos personal injury claims against the Debtors (the “Trust”). The Plan states that all current and future holders of asbestos personal injury claims will be forever prohibited from asserting claims directly against the Debtors and other parties protected under the Plan, including ITCAN. Such persons can receive money only from the Trust. The Plan and the Disclosure Supplement have important additional details and are available at <http://www.flintkotebankruptcy.com>.

SUPPLEMENTAL SETTLEMENT BAR ORDER

Under the Plan, ITCAN will also obtain protection from certain claims by a settlement bar order, which is described more particularly in the Plan and Disclosure Supplement.

VOTING PROCEDURES

The Bankruptcy Court has issued an order describing who can vote on the Plan, how to vote, and how votes will be counted. The Disclosure Supplement has information that will help you decide whether and how to vote on the Plan if you are entitled to do so. Votes cast on the Original Plan will be counted as votes on the Plan, unless a holder changes such vote. **If you voted on the Original Plan and do not wish to change your vote, you do not need to submit a ballot.** If you did not vote on the Original Plan, you may obtain and cast a ballot, which would be subject to the Plan Proponents’ right to object. **To be counted, a completed ballot must be received by the Voting Agent at the address below by 4:00 p.m. (prevailing Eastern time) on June 2, 2015. Any ballot received after that deadline will not be counted.**

Proof of an asbestos personal injury or wrongful death claim does not need to be filed with the Bankruptcy Court. Special procedures have been established for holders of asbestos personal injury and wrongful death claims to vote on the Plan. Lawyers for holders of these claims may vote on the Plan on behalf of their clients if authorized by their client. If you are unsure whether your lawyer is authorized to vote on your behalf, please contact your lawyer.

THE HEARING TO CONFIRM THE PLAN

A hearing to confirm the Plan will be held before the Honorable Mary F. Walrath, United States Bankruptcy Judge, at the United States Bankruptcy Court for the District of Delaware, 824 Market Street, 5th Floor, Wilmington, Delaware 19801, commencing **on August 10, 2015 at 10:30 a.m.** (prevailing Eastern time). You may attend the hearing but are not required to do so.

OBJECTING TO THE PLAN

Objections to the Plan are limited to changes between the Original Plan and the Plan and must be submitted in writing and received by July 8, 2015 to be considered. All objections must comply with the requirements in the notice of the Confirmation Hearing, available at <http://www.flintkotebankruptcy.com>.

HOW TO OBTAIN DOCUMENTS

If you would like additional information about the Plan, Disclosure Supplement and the Trust (including copies of the Plan and the Disclosure Supplement), you may contact the Debtors’ Voting Agent at (800) 290-0537 or visit <http://www.flintkotebankruptcy.com>.

For complete information, including all relevant forms, notices and instructions, please consult:

Flintkote Reorganization Website
www.flintkotebankruptcy.com

Flintkote Reorganization Helpline
1-800-290-0537

**Write to: The Flintkote Company and Flintkote Mines, Limited,
c/o GCG, P.O. Box 10127, Dublin, Ohio 43017-3127**

WORLD

FIGHT FOR THEIR RIGHTS

AT THE
COMMAND OF A
CONTROVERSIAL
LEADER, A CADRE
OF FEMALE KURDISH
SOLDIERS IS TAKING
THE BATTLE TO ISIS

PHOTOGRAPHS
AND TEXT BY NEWSHA
TAVAKOLIAN

Facing battle *Eighteen-year-old fighter Torin Khairagi: "We live in a world where women are dominated by men. We are here to take control of our future."*







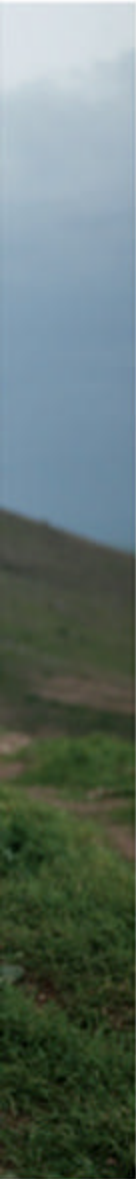
A COLORFUL SCARF IS ALL THAT IS LEFT of Cicek Derek, who was 17 when she died a few months ago in the besieged city of Kobani, Syria, where her compatriots were unable to retrieve her body. Cicek was one of hundreds of young Kurdish female soldiers who have taken up the fight against ISIS. They're part of the YPJ, or Women's Protection Unit, an offshoot of the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK), a Kurdish nationalist movement that has long fought a war of independence against Turkey.

Now the PKK and other Kurdish

groups are at the forefront of the battle against the Islamic State of Iraq and Greater Syria, a militant group that would severely curtail the rights of women. It's fitting that ISIS will be facing off against female fighters like 18-year-old Zilan Orkesh, who left her small village on the Turkish-Syrian border to join YPJ in 2011. When she killed an ISIS fighter for the first time, she began cheering loudly, hoping the sound would reach the ears of other jihadists. "I wanted to let them know that their worst nightmare had come true," she says. "Their friend had been killed by a woman."

But it's not just the battle against ISIS that brings these women to a spare

military camp in Syria, a half-hour from the front lines. Abdullah Ocalan, the imprisoned Marxist leader of the PKK, has promoted gender equality, a rarity in the macho Middle East. (The PKK is still listed as a terrorist group by the U.S., but the more pressing threat of ISIS has blunted those concerns.) To rural girls trapped in deeply conservative societies, the appeal could be strong. "In the past, women had various roles in the society, but all those roles were taken from them," says 18-year-old Saria Zilan. "We are here now to take back the role of women in society."



Women in action
Clockwise from far left: YPJ fighters at their base on the border between Syria and Iraq; YPJ members take part in daily combat training; 18-year-old YPJ fighter Saria Zilan: “We are here now to take back the role of women in society.”





Those left behind

Counterclockwise from top left: Cicek's picture is attached to an artificial tree at her brother's home in Syria; graves of YPJ members; a billboard showing fallen YPJ soldiers, reading "With you we live on and life continues"





That fight has a cost. Several miles from the all-female camp, there is a fresh graveyard. Men are digging the earth, clearing space for new arrivals as the sun sets. A YPJ flag dances above a grave. Not far is Cicek's home village, and the house where she once lived. Inside, Cicek's three sisters and her mother sit around a portrait of the fighter.

Cicek's mother Nasiba didn't want her daughter to join the YPJ. "She was only 13," Nasiba says. "She met a YPG member [an armed Kurdish force] at her brother's house, and he started influencing her. And before we knew it, she left home and went to Mount Qandil [the PKK's main base in northern Iraq]. She was 17 when she was

killed." Nasiba isn't alone in her criticism. There's something uncomfortable about girls barely into their teens leaving home to join a guerrilla army at Ocalan's behest. Especially when—like Cicek—they don't come home again.

But her older sister Rojin remembers the way that joining the YPJ seemed to transform Cicek. "She came back from Qandil after four years, and she was a different person," says Rojin. "She was tough and confident."

Once the sun sets, the village is dark: power has long been out here. The only lights seen are those of passing cars,

among them a truck that drives slowly through the town. Revolutionary Kurdish songs play from megaphones attached to the truck. The music seizes the attention of young boys and girls hanging around the neighborhood. One by one they join the trail of people following the vehicle.

In a dark corner of the house, with a little bit of light falling on her face, Cicek's sister stands in silence. She is listening to young revolutionaries chant along with the songs that the megaphones blare, songs about Kobani and martyrdom that urge the survivors of battle to rise and continue the fight. Rojin is the last person to leave the mourning caravan behind the truck, lost in thought.





Battle scarred
*Three YPJ fighters
in an armed vehicle
at their base in
eastern Syria, days
after returning
from the front*

SOCIETY

Dope Dreams

National brands. Franchise stores. Entrepreneurs are plotting a future for pot that looks quite different from what Americans may have bargained for



BY ELIZA GRAY

BEER HAS ITS BUDWEISER. CIGARETTES have Marlboro. And now, from Nevada to Massachusetts, pioneers in the legal-marijuana industry are vying to create big-name brands for pot.

When the legalization movement began years ago, its grassroots activists envisioned a nation where mom-and-pop dispensaries would freely sell small amounts of bud to cancer patients and cannabis-loving members of their community. But the markets rolling out now are attracting something different: ambitious, well-financed entrepreneurs who want to maximize profits and satisfy their investors. To do that, they'll have to grow the pot business by attracting new smokers or getting current users to buy more.

To hear these pot-preneurs talk is to get a better sense of how the legalized future could unfold and just how mainstream they believe their product can become. Says Joe Hodas, chief marketing officer at Dixie Elixirs & Edibles, a Denver maker of pot food products: "I want to get that soccer mom who, instead of polishing off a glass of wine on a Saturday night, goes for a 5-mg [marijuana] mint with less of a hangover, less optics to the kids and the same amount of relaxation."

Other startups envision nationwide chains where pot in all forms will be sold in well-lit stores with gleaming corporate

logos and friendly, well-trained employees.

Considering that marijuana remains prohibited by federal law, these plans might seem premature. But entrepreneurs believe the country is at the tipping point, with medical weed already legalized in some form by 23 states and the District of Columbia. Eager capitalists are already betting that Florida will go next—and they are raising funds and buying real estate to get ready.

With each new state to vote yes, the possibility of federal legalization grows more real. This makes the big questions surrounding pot commercialization urgent for those on every side of the debate. How should advertising be regulated? Should the rules favor homegrown businesses or national corporations? The legal pot market in the U.S. is already a \$3 billion opportunity with the possibility of growing to \$35 billion, according to some estimates—and capitalism doesn't leave money on the table. Americans are voting for a change, but are they ready for Big Dope?

From Greek Yogurt to Pot

ADAM BIERMAN IS NOBODY'S IDEA OF A pothead. A 33-year-old former college baseball player, he started a branding company a few years ago that created websites and inviting retail spaces for food businesses like fresh-juice bars and Greek-yogurt

joints. One day in 2009, after a call from a prospective client, Bierman showed up at a medical-marijuana dispensary with his briefcase to find an old woman with her hair dyed electric blue. She looked "like one of those troll babies," recalls his business partner, Andrew Modlin. "I asked her how much she made," says Bierman. "She said [something like] \$300,000—you know, crazy numbers. I was like, 'No, not what you made last year, what you made last month.' And she said, 'That was last month.'" On the way back to their office, Bierman turned to his partner and said, "Why aren't we doing *that*?"

Six years later, Bierman and Modlin are the brains behind a company called MedMen. It's a pot consultancy based in Culver City, Calif., that helps with everything from finding real estate to completing the complex applications required to get a license in a state that allows the use of medical marijuana. If a client gets a license, MedMen will manage the business, much as the Four Seasons manages hotels around the world, in exchange for a slice of the business's revenue. MedMen will supply the brand and business model and operate the business day to day, doing everything from hiring staff to devising an annual budget. If the plan works, consumers across the country will start to recognize their logo on pot products and on their sleek, drugstore-style storefronts, like the ones the pair created for businesses like Go Greek Yogurt in Beverly Hills, Calif.

Bierman speaks about expanding into new states in breathless monologues, with the intensity of *The West Wing*'s Josh Lyman talking about the electoral map in a presidential campaign. Says Bierman: "New York is going to be a monster market. California is going to be a monster market. Florida is going to be a monster market. Those are the three big states where we wake up and point a finger at a map and say, What makes sense for us?"

It's far too early to tell if Bierman will

Building a brand

From their headquarters in Culver City, Bierman, left, and Modlin hope to launch their cannabis brand through outposts in every state



succeed. MedMen has yet to open a single store, and federal law prohibits Bierman from shipping products across state lines. As long as marijuana is federally illegal, he faces a patchwork of 24 marijuana markets that are regulated differently. In Massachusetts, for example, businesses must grow the pot they sell, while in Nevada, there are separate licenses to produce, cultivate and sell. That means he and his clients have to build separate, self-contained businesses in every state he enters, and the nature of those businesses will depend on the decisions of dozens of regulators across the country.

Still, experts in the pot world say Bierman isn't nuts. "Until very recently, this was a highly local industry," says Chris Walsh, managing editor of *Marijuana Business Daily*. "All of that is changing. What we've really seen this year is that people who run successful retail or medical-marijuana stores are getting involved in new states where it is legalized. The industry is at a point where a national brand is possible."

Gold Rush in Nevada?

ON THE WALL OF BIERMAN'S CULVER CITY office is a map of the states he wants to expand into with the amounts (in millions of dollars) he estimates he must raise to succeed. Bierman's first major investor was Florida's N Squared Management, a small investment company co-managed by Fred Portnoy, 58, who has worked primarily in health care. Portnoy discovered MedMen after N Squared decided to apply for a cultivation and dispensing license in Illinois and realized it would need a management company to run the business if it got one. Impressed by Bierman, the firm decided to invest \$3 million in MedMen. "I think it's kind of brilliant," says Portnoy. "Anyone in my generation who sees an opportunity in pot—they are going to need these people."

Nevada is central to MedMen's play for a national brand. Bierman hopes Las Vegas' 40 million annual visitors, many of whom arrive for vice, will learn about MedMen and look for it in other states. It's not a bad bet, since Nevada's 2013 medical-marijuana law allows card carriers from other states to buy it there. And

Plans to build big brands could take pot mainstream, but critics warn that marketing could attract kids to the drug

recreational pot is on the ballot for 2016.

MedMen says it is in negotiations to manage two dispensaries in Nevada. Meanwhile, Bierman and Modlin have won and are going forward with several other licenses in Nevada—six for cultivation and two for production. MedMen says those operations will be up and running as early as September, with products on the shelves in the fourth quarter of this year.

The costs of large-scale marijuana production can be high—it's energy-intensive—and there are plenty of risks and unknowns. Plus, some investors are wary about the reputational risk of getting into the drug business. But others see a giant market still in its embryonic stages. Investors in Nevada, who are accustomed to putting their money in industries like liquor distribution, gambling and strip clubs, are less squeamish.

Experience with casinos has made Nevada banks more comfortable with the inherent risks of banking what is typically an all-cash business. Though the number is growing nationwide, only 105 banks and credit unions out of more than 13,000 will extend banking services to cannabis businesses, according to *Marijuana Business Daily*. The U.S. Treasury and Justice departments issued guidance in February 2014 on how banks should work with the marijuana industry. The CEO of First Security Bank of Nevada, Jason Awad, tells *TIME* his bank will operate accounts for marijuana businesses as soon as it can finish the due-diligence process to comply with the regulations, a process that has already been under way for six months.

States of Play

BUT EVEN WITH THAT HURDLE, 2015 promises to be a big year for the pot business. In addition to the start of commercial sales of medical marijuana in Nevada, pot will also begin to be sold legally in Massachusetts and, barring hiccups, Illinois, with the states of New York and Maryland following close behind in 2016. By the time the next President takes the oath of office, in 2017, marijuana-policy experts expect one-third of the U.S. population to have legal access to recreational cannabis.

While pot advocates hail the progress, some opponents fear that explicit legalization will inevitably bring out the worst in entrepreneurs as they pursue profits. They point out that even Amsterdam, which is notorious for the coffee shops where marijuana is openly sold, has not actually legalized pot; instead, it prohibits large-scale cultivation and wholesale selling, limiting sales to 5 g per person per day, so that pot is available but under a variety of restrictions.

One of the biggest fears among those who oppose legalization is advertising. "The problem we have from a public-health standpoint is that advertising works," says Steve Pasierb, former president and CEO of Partnership for Drug-Free Kids. "People understand that Joe Camel and the Budweiser frogs affected kids, and we don't want to see that happen here."

Unless Washington reverses years of policy and legalizes pot on a national basis—an unlikely step anytime soon—big-time advertising won't be easy to execute. (For instance, Facebook and Google currently won't allow marijuana advertisements.) That's true of other big ambitions too, including prospects for pot IPOs; Nasdaq and the New York Stock Exchange don't allow firms involved in federally illegal activity to trade on their exchanges.

But for all that, Bierman believes full legalization is inevitable as well as its acceptance in the mainstream. In his dreams, pot will soon take its place in the very pantheon of American culture. He says, "I can see a really cool-looking MedMen commercial on the Super Bowl in 2017." ■

THE WEEK
UNFRIENDED
HAUNTS THEATERS

The Culture



TELEVISION

You Know Nothing

For years, **Game of Thrones** viewers who haven't read George R.R. Martin's *Song of Ice and Fire* novels, which inspired the HBO series, have had to carefully avoid having the plot spoiled by friends who read the books. Not anymore. The



Petyr Baelish (Aidan Gillen) and Sansa Stark (Sophie Turner) will face twisted family drama

hit fantasy show's creators, David Benioff and D.B. Weiss, say the plot of the fifth season, which premieres April 12 at 9 p.m. on HBO, will diverge from Martin's best-selling novels, beginning with Tyrion Lannister (Peter Dinklage) and spymaster Varys (Conleth Hill) journeying to meet Daenerys Targaryen, the Mother of Dragons (Emilia Clarke).

MUSIC

Solo Act

After joining other A-list artists like Kanye West and Madonna to help Jay Z launch his new streaming service, Tidal, **Jack White** is headed to the Coachella Valley Music Festival. The legendary guitarist, who played Coachella in 2003 as half of the White Stripes, will headline the fest on Saturday, April 11.



BOOKS

Legends Revisited

In ***Voices in the Night***, which hits shelves April 14, Pulitzer Prize winner Steven Millhauser imbues classic fables with a hyperrealistic sensibility in this collection of 16 short stories. In Millhauser's capable hands, figures like Rapunzel, Buddha and Paul Bunyan assume new and dazzling nuances.



MOVIES

Hotshot

After a seven-season run on *Parks and Recreation*, Aubrey Plaza doesn't know what the future holds—but she prefers it that way. "I'm really excited about having my entire year open," Plaza says. If her prolific film roles are any clue—she's been in five movies since August, and her latest, *Ned Rifle*, is out now—expect to see a lot more of her. "I really like working," she says. "There's no reason for me not to go crazy right now."
—NOLAN FEENEY



Fashion's Hot New Age

Grande dames are redefining beauty with their senior chic

By Lisa Schwarzbaum

THERE IS NO SHORTAGE OF MATURE WOMEN who know how to accentuate the positive with a flattering shade of lipstick and a well-draped scarf. And then there is Iris Apfel. Small and thin, with a short crop of silver hair, Apfel festoons her 93-year-old forearms from wrists to elbows with a stack of fat bracelets. She circles her neck with a bazaar's worth of sculptured necklaces, often draped over richly colored tunics and jackets in a riot of patterns—and ties it all together with extraordinary, saucer-size eyeglasses, the frames usually black. The look is so firmly Apfel's own that for many fashion watchers, just the gesture of raising fingers to face and making owlish circles around the eyes is a recognizable signal: that's Iris Apfel.

"I like to wear what I like or do what I like or decorate as I like," says Apfel, who combs everything from couture racks to flea-market hangers for her distinctive style. "I don't go out of my way to be a rebel or offend. I've always figured, I hope you like it, and if you don't, that's your problem."

Soon, the nonagenarian style setter will have an even wider audience. *Iris*, a documentary about the life of this unlikely icon, is opening at the end of April in New York City—where she was born in 1921, into a family that owned a glass shop and a clothing boutique—and nationally in May. Apfel has opened her wardrobe before: the Costume Institute of the Metropolitan Museum of Art put on a wildly popular 2005 show featuring selections from her closet. But the film by Albert Maysles, the acclaimed documentarian who died in March at the age of 88, goes deeper, following Apfel inside her homes in New York City and Palm Beach, Fla., at an African shop

in Harlem bargaining for bracelets and at the 100th-birthday celebration for her doting husband Carl, who is crucial to the Apfel mystique. With his business acumen and her eye as an interior decorator for private clients, the couple founded Old World Weavers in 1950 and built it into a high-end importer that has provided textiles for grand homes, including the White House. Before retiring in 1992, the couple worked on projects for every Administration from Eisenhower's to Clinton's (with the exception of George H.W. Bush's).

The timing of *Iris* couldn't be better, since old broads are having a moment. Did I say that? Allow me to put it in more ladylike terms: from glossy high fashion to DIY social media, older women are being celebrated in popular culture for their style, sexuality and beauty.

This is far from the first time that women of a certain age have been venerated for their daring aesthetic and devil-may-care attitude. In 1961 the English poet Jenny Johnson wrote, "When I am an old woman I shall wear purple/ With a red hat which doesn't go, and doesn't suit me." Her defiant lines inspired a worldwide sisterhood of mature women who really do wear purple and ruby-colored headgear, and meet up for outings as members of the Red Hat Society. But in an industry known for its embrace of the young and fresh, the renewed esteem for mature, fearlessly individual women is a welcome trend.

Women of a Certain Chic

FLIP THROUGH THE LATEST FASHION ADVERTISEMENTS and you might be fooled into thinking that mature beauty is this season's must-have item. Helen Mirren, 69, is the face





August couture

Carmen Dell'Orefice, above, at Paris Fashion Week in 2013 for designer Stéphane Rolland

The venerable French fashion house Céline tapped Joan Didion, far left in sunglasses, for its latest ad campaign

Iris Apfel, near left, appears in a Kate Spade ad in her trademark owl specs and bangles

of L'Oréal U.K. (She also stars in the new film *Woman in Gold*.) NARS cosmetics ads feature 69-year-old actor Charlotte Rampling, and 66-year-old Jessica Lange is modeling for Marc Jacobs. New ads for the cooler-than-cool fashion label Céline showcase 80-year-old writer Joan Didion, fearsomely tiny in a black turtleneck, her face hidden by giant black sunglasses. And 71-year-old singer-songwriter Joni Mitchell, who was recently hospitalized after being found unconscious in her Los Angeles home, shows up in print ads for Yves Saint Laurent.

No list of silver foxes is complete without Carmen Dell'Orefice, who began modeling as a teenager. Now 83 and still working, Dell'Orefice happily claims the title of the world's oldest supermodel. For women facing the dye-or-go-gray dilemma, Dell'Orefice's silver-white mane and haute cheekbones make the case for the glamour of gray.

For older women who are not already well known but do possess dramatic "me being me" style, the current moment offers a particular opportunity to get noticed. And the timing is ideal, says Lynn Dell, the 82-year-old owner of Manhattan's Off Broadway Boutique—a mecca for women who are proud to be the opposite of invisible. "We're all living longer," she says. "We are enjoying our lives. We have a sense that I can do what I want now. I can make a statement now."

Dell's panache is regularly featured on *Advanced Style*, a popular site run by 33-year-old Ari Seth Cohen that showcases all sorts of beautifully put-together seniors, from impeccable traditionalists to silvery bohemians from the Carole King school of natural woman. (A spin-off documentary film, *Advanced Style*, was released last year and is now available in home theater and digital versions.)

Cohen regularly returns to a core group of muses who have never met an outfit that was too architecturally ambitious. Their hats tower and tilt, their wraps engulf, and their color combinations demand attention. It's daily fashion as a form of public theater—and it requires the confidence of a life well lived to pull off.

Such sartorial swagger seems to be rarer in older men. Cohen shoots occasional photos of stylish senior men, but they are often part of a couple whose outfits are coordinated to enhance their shared presentation. These men tend to



Silvery swagger The documentary *Advanced Style*, based on the blog of the same name, features, from left, Ilona Smithkin, Joyce Carpati and Lynn Dell

be the beneficiaries of spouses with more adventurous tastes. That's certainly the case in *Iris*, where Carl Apfel looks game enough to wear the patterned trousers and studded cap his wife picks out for him, while Apfel seems genuinely excited to buy them. Perhaps it comes to down to Apfel's simple maxim: "It has to feel right."

Follow Your Muse

THE REDISCOVERY OF MATURE STYLE IS partly rooted in the fashion industry's belated recognition of who can afford the high-end stuff. "Marketeers play to all the youngsters," Apfel says, "but the youth market doesn't have the money for all these things. Designers do dresses for a 15-year-old that do not look good with your 60-year-old arms—70-year-old knees ain't pretty." Indeed, women ages 55 to 64 spend the most of any age group on clothes, according to the Bureau

of Labor Statistics. The second most? Women ages 65 to 74. "You've got to attend to us," Dell says of her cohort. "We are important!"

Apfel is pleased that the industry has come around, but she deflects her status as a fashion icon with gestures of dismissal. "I don't live for getting dressed," she insists. "I'm very involved with living and working, and designing." Those jobs include starring in a new ad campaign for Kate Spade in which her one-of-a-kind persona is played off against the creamy prettiness of 22-year-old model Karlie Kloss and—in red eyeglass frames this time—modeling Alexis Bittar jewelry opposite 18-year-old fashion impresario and actor Tavi Gevinson.

Still, Apfel is wise enough to know that the cultural moment she helped bring about could end at any time. The trick, as she sees it, is to do what she's always done: follow your own muse.

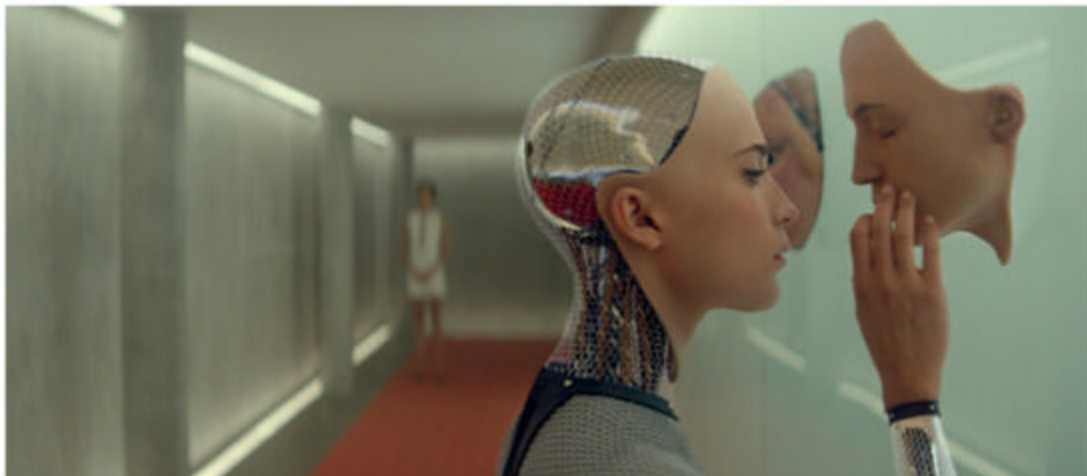
"The greatest faux pas is looking in the mirror and seeing somebody else, which many women do," Apfel says. "If trying to find out who you are is not for you, don't push it. It's not so important. Style is a matter of attitude. It has to be. It's better to be unstylish and badly dressed and be happy. What's the sense? Relax!"

She says this, of course, looking fabulous.

'The greatest faux pas is looking in the mirror and seeing somebody else.'

—IRIS APFEL

Reviews



Vikander as Ava, the advanced robot whose cunning intelligence provides both appeal and ambiguity

MOVIES

Date With an Android. Two guys and a robot square off in Alex Garland's *Ex Machina*

By Richard Corliss

"I WON!" EXULTS 24-YEAR-OLD CALEB Smith (Domhnall Gleeson) as he learns he has been summoned to the remote aerie of Nathan (Oscar Isaac), his computer company's Jobsian guru-boss, for a week of ... something. A series of experiments, we learn, to test the artificial or actual intelligence of Nathan's supreme invention, a robot in female form called Ava (Alicia Vikander). But to create a machine with human awareness, Caleb says, is "not the history of men. That's the history of gods."

Deus ex machina is the phrase applied to the climactic moment in a classical Greek tragedy when gods would descend from the skies to resolve all knotty human problems. And *god*, or *God*, is the word that hovers over *Ex Machina*, Alex Garland's pristinely creepy sci-fi film. Nathan, castrating through his lab like a satyr deity, is the Frankenstein who would breathe a self-aware soul into Ava. Caleb is the ambitious assistant who fancies he can free the lovely automaton from her creator. In this Olympian chess game, Ava also has a role: as pawn, queen or grand master.

Ava, the android who could be "more human than human" (as *Blade Runner* had it), is a sister of sorts to two Scarlett Johansson entities: the OS voice in *her* and the

alien in *Under the Skin*. As embodied by the luscious, spectral Vikander, Ava is tempting even when she is seen as a pretty face encased in a plastic skull, with metal arms and legs. But as she seems to warm to Caleb, she dons a wig and a print dress, telling him, "This is what I'd wear on our date." Can a robot fall in love? Could any young human male resist her requests?

Garland, who wrote the scripts for the Danny Boyle fantasies *28 Days Later* and *Sunshine* and who adapted Kazuo Ishiguro's clone novel, *Never Let Me Go*, makes his directorial debut with a potent sci-fi template: a battle for the future that is also a caustic meditation on the power that men believe they have over women. Distilling these big themes into a hyperbaric chamber piece—one location, three characters, seven days—Garland shows a born auteur's command of actors and atmosphere. He's even bold enough to break mood with a frenetic dance that Nathan and Ava perform to Oliver Cheatham's 1983 R&B hit "Get Down Saturday Night."

Perhaps that too is a test in the experiment that Garland is conducting on his characters—and on the viewers. Be grateful to be his lab rats, in the year's most seductive high-IQ drama. If you go, you win.

WHO IS ALICIA VIKANDER?

The Swedish star played Kitty in *Anna Karenina*. In August, she stars in director Guy Ritchie's big-screen reboot of *The Man From U.N.C.L.E.*

BOOKS

All in the Family

In this Bush-Clinton news cycle, American political dynasties seem like a thing of the present. But *Hissing Cousins* probes the clan that most shaped the 20th century: the Roosevelts. Authors Marc Peyser and Timothy Dwyer focus on the relationship between two unelected members of the family: Alice Roosevelt Longworth, Teddy's famously scandalous daughter, and Eleanor Roosevelt, Franklin's wife, thus Alice's fifth cousin once removed by marriage.

Alice and Eleanor shared little but fame, a name and mutual antipathy. Alice, queen of the dinner-party circuit, resented Eleanor's saintliness; Eleanor enraged Alice in her seeming unflappability.

Hissing Cousins is ripping but poignant. Outside politics, the cousins might have overcome differences. But power often comes at a human cost, and this volume reminds us just how punishing life in a presidential family can be. —DANIEL D'ADDARIO



Art



Talking Pictures At MOMA, images give voice to the Great Migration

By Richard Lacayo

ONE OF THE LARGEST MASS MOVEMENTS in American history took place almost under the radar. Over roughly two decades, beginning in 1915, as many as 2 million African Americans migrated from the rural South to Northern cities, a spontaneous eruption of people seeking freedom from the prison—legal, spiritual, psychological and at times literal—of Southern life. The Northern states would hardly turn out to be paradise, but anything was better than the empire of Jim Crow and the Ku Klux Klan.

This great escape was powerfully commemorated by one of the singular projects

of 20th century American art, *The Migration Series*, 60 paintings on wooden panels by Jacob Lawrence, an African-American artist who was just 23 when he began them in 1940. Two years later they were purchased jointly by the Phillips Collection in Washington and the Museum of Modern Art in New York City, each taking 30. Now MOMA has reunited all 60 pictures and added related materials for a show, co-curated by Leah Dickerman, that closes Sept. 7. One year later, the full series will be reassembled for five months at the Phillips. Forget your high school reunion. This is the one to attend.



BARE MINIMUM

For panel 10, *They Were Very Poor*, Lawrence—whose parents made the trek north—produced a stark emblem of sharecropper poverty. Working in Harlem, he spent months researching accounts of the exodus. His pictures reached a wide audience in 1941, when *Fortune* magazine published 26 of them with an essay denouncing the treatment of black Americans.



BENT BY GRIEF

Panel 16, portraying the aftermath of a lynching, shows Lawrence's debt to Cubism. His series employs the dynamic lines, broad color fields and flattened imagery common to advanced paintings of the 1930s, yet its sparseness renders the migration timeless, the stuff of legend.



BLOODBATH

Panel 52 depicts a 1917 riot in East St. Louis, Ill., where some 10,000 African Americans had relocated. Some were hired by a local company to break a strike by unionized white workers. On July 1 the resulting tensions led to armed attacks on black neighborhoods that left dozens dead and caused more than 6,000 to flee the city.

POINTS NORTH

One source of inspiration for Lawrence's series was the sequenced imagery of magazine photo essays. Another, maybe, was a much older model: *predellas*, the small storytelling paintings along the bottom of Renaissance altar screens. After all, Lawrence worked not in oils but tempera—a medium dating to that time.

Pop Chart

LOVE IT



▲ Disney plans to make a **live-action version** of *Winnie the Pooh*.

▲ UKTV commissioned a life-size statue of Benedict Cumberbatch **made entirely of Belgian chocolate**. Its name: Benedict Chocobatch.



▲ Netflix is reportedly flirting with the idea of **rebooting ABC's *Full House*** for a 13-episode season.

▲ Burger King announced that it will **pay for the wedding** of Illinois couple Joel Burger and Ashley King. The nuptials are set for July 17; presumably, guests will have a whopper of a time.

EAST MEETS DRESS This Roberto Cavalli gown is one of the many garments on display at the Metropolitan Museum of Art's new exhibition "China: Through the Looking Glass." The show, opening May 7, contrasts global couture with classic Chinese art and will provide the theme for this year's Met Gala fundraiser.



THE DIGITS

\$21,960

Value of the Hyundai Sonata that *The Price Is Right* gave away when model Manuela Arbelaez accidentally revealed the correct price before a contestant guessed it

VERBATIM

'I know you're young, but selfies are bad. Just take a normal photograph!'

PRINCE HARRY, playfully admonishing a fan who asked him to pose with her for a selfie while he was greeting crowds at the Australian War Memorial in Canberra

QUICK TALK

Tatiana Maslany

The 29-year-old Canadian actor plays half a dozen clones—sometimes onscreen at the same time—on BBC America's sci-fi hit *Orphan Black*, whose third season premieres April 18. —NOLAN FEENEY

All the *Orphan Black* clones have wildly different personalities. How do you switch your mind-set while acting? Changing tension in my body, changing rhythms internally with music or animals—anything that will inspire me to carry my body differently. **Wait, animals?**

I walk dogs in my spare time! No, it's more like using behavior of animals to inform a character. When I first started playing Alison [an uptight soccer-mom clone], it was the idea of a bird: how a bird moves, how a bird might hold their body up. **Has playing a clone changed what you think of actual human cloning?** It's more interesting for me to ask questions than to have any definitive stance on it. Ownership of a body or autonomy over who you are and your choices in life—I'm more engaged with that debate. ***Orphan Black* is notorious for crazy plot twists: secret clones, government conspiracies, the works. How do you keep track?**

I just try to play in the moment as much as I can. **You could always tweet fans for help.**

Yeah! "Guys, what the hell happened in the last episode? Can somebody explain it to me please?"

There was a fair amount of controversy when you weren't nominated for an Emmy last year. What did you make of that?

Awards stuff is overrated. It's more exciting to have a rabid fan base than to be lauded at an event where everyone's wearing ball gowns. That's not the viewership you're telling stories to.

“ON MY RADAR

► **Broad City** “[Guest-starring] would be so awesome. I’m just happy it exists. I love that show.”

► **R&B music** “I need to feel powerful when I play [Rachel, an icy villain clone]. Anything that makes me feel cool and not awkward.”





OH, BABIES

Following the success of his books *Underwater Dogs* and *Underwater Puppies*, California-based photographer Seth Casteel turned his lens on the world's youngest human swimmers (all participating in water-safety classes). But while *Underwater Babies* may look cute, Casteel has said he hopes it will also bring attention to the availability and benefits of infant-swimming programs.



LEAVE IT

▼ Will Ferrell and Kristen Wiig scrapped their **Lifetime parody thriller** *A Deadly Adoption* after news of the project leaked online.

▼ Kim Kardashian made the black-blue-white-gold **Dress That Broke the Internet** part of her mobile game.

▼ Creator David Lynch pulled out of Showtime's planned **Twin Peaks** reboot because "not enough money was offered to do the script the way I felt it needed to be done."



▼ Madame Tussauds London appointed a **"tissue attendant"** for fans mourning Zayn Malik's departure from One Direction (via his wax statue).

CHARTICLE

Billboard's Biggest Hits

Mark Ronson and Bruno Mars' "Uptown Funk," which recently topped the Hot 100 for a 13th consecutive week, is on the cusp of breaking the record for most time ever spent at the summit. Which tunes are in its way?



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Ladies and Germs

How I came to adopt the surgical mask, one of Japan's most popular accessories

I WAS NEVER NERVOUS ABOUT flying until I saw that a quarter of the people boarding my recent Japan Airlines flight were wearing surgical masks. Even though they weren't wearing metal chest plates or leather codpieces, I knew this was a clear sign of the Apocalypse, or at least of a CNN story of how one American somewhere might have Ebola. Desperate to calm down, I tried to convince myself that they all just needed to be ready at baggage claim to trick their Asian parents into believing they became doctors.

But during my 10 days in Japan, I saw people wearing surgical masks everywhere. They wore them very casually, and this is a culture so formal that you can't go to a spa or gym if you have tattoos. I saw men wear them with suits and ties at the symphony. I saw young women in microskirts and cropped shirts rock them while they were out clubbing, hoping some handsome young man would see them and think, I'd like to take that contagious girl home and not do any mouth stuff with her.

It isn't like Japan is nearly as weird in other ways as news stories led me to believe. I never got stuffed into a subway. I didn't see more video billboards than in New York City. The Japan of myth was supposed to have vending machines dispensing women's used underwear, teenage girls dressed like cartoon characters, and porn that even I wouldn't like. Instead, the strangest thing I encountered was the fact that people apologized constantly despite no one ever doing anything remotely wrong. It was like real-life Twitter.

But the surgical-mask thing was really weird. Even weirder is that while some wear them to keep out pollen or pollution, most Japanese people don't wear masks to keep from getting sick. They wear them to protect others from their own colds. This, along with the apologiz-

ing, bowing, shoe removing and printing all their signs in English, is a level of politeness that must make having a cell phone at dinner extraordinarily stressful.

Though I wasn't sick, I felt that as an American, I was crawling with germs compared with people who have 10 buttons on their toilet seats. So I walked into a drugstore and grabbed a three-pack of Unicharm's 3-D masks in classic white, which conform to the N95 standards,



keeping out more microbes than the ones surgeons use to protect patients with their skin cut open. The N96 ones, I'm guessing, turn phlegm into chicken noodle soup.

I got on the bullet train and strapped on my mask. It was so comfortable that within minutes I forgot I was wearing it, my bad breath magically N95ed away from my face. I expected people to give me grateful looks, but no one noticed. In fact, they didn't notice me at all. I sat there sharing all my thoughts about my trip on Facebook to people far away while no one interacted with me in real life. It was exactly why I became a writer.

It turns out that lots of healthy young people are using surgical masks for ex-

actly this reason—to be left alone—the same way I wear earphones at cafés even when I'm not listening to music and tell my parents I'm on a business trip every time they ask to visit. Some women even wear surgical masks to create a sense of mystery, though the mystery is mostly whether they've got cold sores.

There aren't a lot of studies as to whether all this surgical-mask wear-

ing has cut down on illness in Japan. But there are a lot of studies showing that everything in Japan works perfectly. Besides, this is a culture that already figured out how to avoid germs by bowing and never inviting any women with them to dinner. So I planned to wear my two remaining masks the next time I got sick, which should be any minute now, since I have a 5-year-old son. But as with any medical decision, I first ran this by my doctor, who once, in a clear violation of the Hippocratic oath, gave me his email address. "I'm not sure they're any more effective than washing hands or coughing into your sleeve,"

Dr. Robert Samuelson informed me. "I always thought someone wearing those masks in New York was more sick in the head than in the chest."

Maybe Samuelson is right, because he majored in biology and then went to four years of medical school and I got a diploma for reading novels. Also because maybe a big part of being healthy is being social. So I'm putting away my mask until I get supersick, and then I'll just wear it at home. That way my wife will know to get me soup and leave me alone. Just in case she doesn't get my emails, texts and voice mails telling her that I'm supersick and need soup and to be left alone. Or notice my headphones.

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10 Questions



Grazer and business partner Ron Howard won a Best Picture Oscar for *A Beautiful Mind*

Producer and newly minted author **Brian Grazer** muses on Hollywood, *Empire* and his most compulsive trait

In your memoir, *A Curious Mind*, you describe decades of “curiosity conversations” with luminaries from Beyoncé to Edward Teller. Is it hard to get on their schedules?

Mostly, they suggest that they come to me. But I'd be willing to go anywhere. The only rule I have is that I don't like to do it with food involved. I don't like anyone to eat while we're doing it. As they're eating, their blood sugar is changing, and you find these sort of peaks and valleys when you're eating.

You interrupted Jennifer Lopez singing you a Spanish ballad to take Oprah's call. How can less connected people sate their curiosity?

I wasn't always a well-known producer. I was someone who could grovel and write good letters. You don't have to meet with Jonas Salk to understand something about medicine, or Jeff Bezos to understand something about technology and economy and packaging. You can meet people who live within the constellation of these people.

Has any conversation made you want to change careers?

Yeah. The more I've gotten to know Charlie Rose, who is uniquely exceptional at interviewing people, there's part of me that wishes I could do that. He's a purist—he's genuinely curious.

Is there anything that *doesn't* interest you?

At one time in my life, architecture. But then I met Rem Koolhaas, and I went 180 degrees in the other direction when he stated how humanistic it was. But what am I not interested in at all? Things that are absent humanity. Great tools of technology actually enhance humanity.

How has the Internet changed curiosity?

I don't think there's any real replacement for actually meeting with somebody. The physics change. You're at a place that you never would have imagined emotionally. You can't do that on the Internet. Nor can you have sex [with] the Internet.

Your movies' protagonists are complicated men. Is it hard for you to conceive a woman's point of view?

Yes. I love women, and I love women in movies. It's just that I'm not a woman, and I don't have the same emotional issues as a woman. I think in order to make good movies, you have to be as close to the truth as possible. The truth is usually best understood from self-awareness, and my self-awareness is limited when it comes to women.

You produce *Empire*. What accounts for its runaway success?

I think people just love



the soap opera, the drama of family. It deals with basic things like greed and jealousy. Those things just make it really juicy and create unexpected emotion.

It has a more fundamental appeal than being about race.

I think it's leastly about race. That is so secondary in the show. I don't think we really deal with racial politics much. We deal with cultural politics, like homosexuality. We deal with coming out, or not coming out. *Empire* didn't have to be black, really, at all.

24, which you also produced, is an era-defining show. But some critics said it made Americans more amenable to torture.

I don't think we made it O.K. at all. I think we just stated it was going on. Ultimately, Jack Bauer was a wish-fulfillment character—the guy that we wished we could be when we saw political injustices or terrorism, either in our country or other countries.

Spiked hair is your visual signature. Have you ever worried that nature might make the look impossible?

I've had it for 20 years. And 10 or 12 years ago, I totally freaked out. I went to my barber and a series of doctors to wonder: Is my hairline receding? And it wasn't. But only in time did I realize, Oh, I guess it didn't happen.

—DANIEL D'ADDARIO

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